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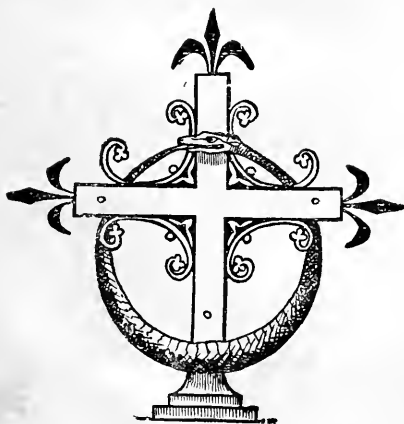
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CUR DEUS HOMO?



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CUR DEUS HOMO

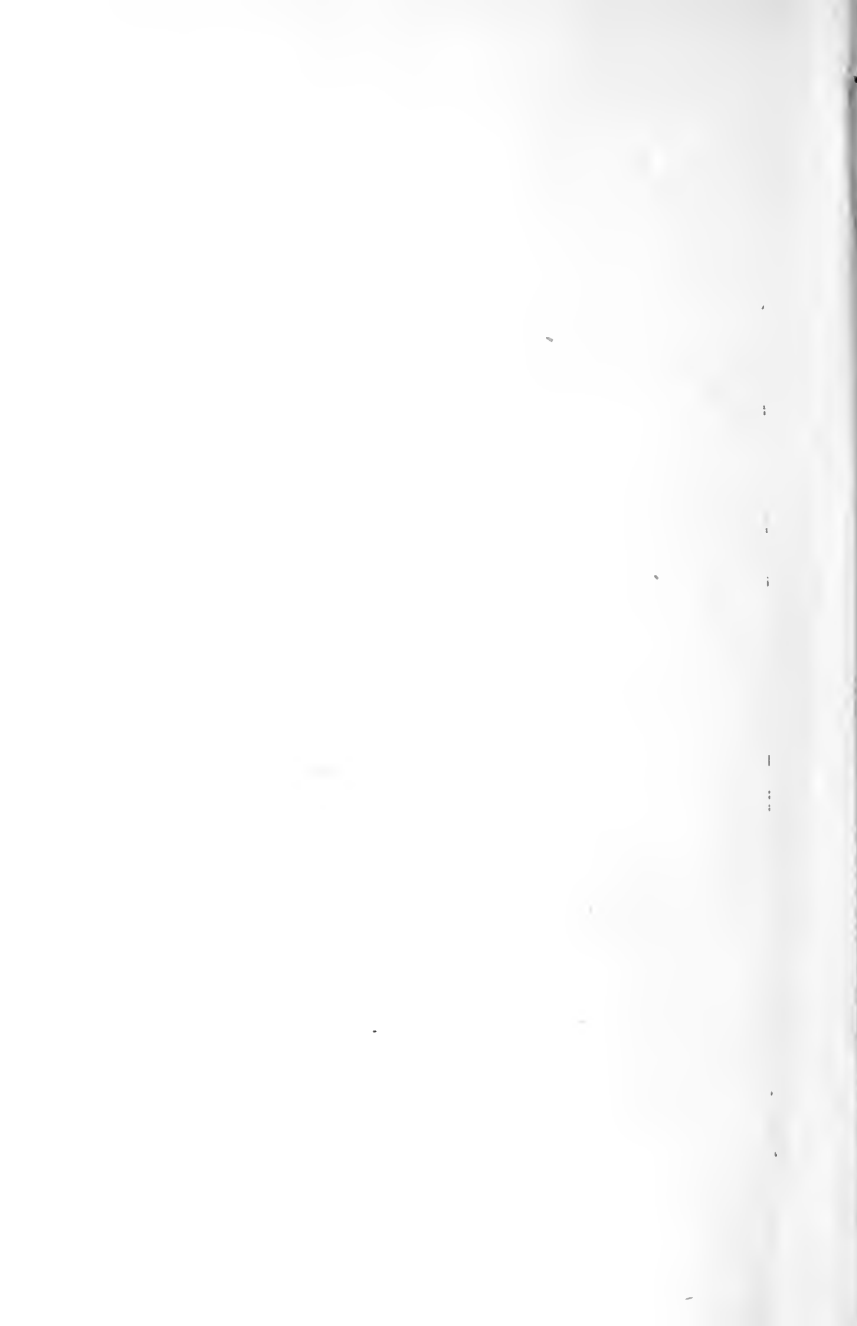
BY

ST ANSELM

TO WHICH IS ADDED A SELECTION FROM HIS LETTERS



GRIFFITH FARRAN OKEDEN & WELSH
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CONTENTS.

LIFE OF ANSELM	PAGE xi
--------------------------	------------

CUR DEUS HOMO?

SAINT ANSELM'S PREFACE	xxvii
----------------------------------	-------

Book 3.

CHAP.

I. The question on which the whole work depends	1
II. How those things which are about to be asserted, are to be received	2
III. Objections of unbelievers and answers of the faithful	5
IV. That these answers appear superfluous to unbelievers, and like representations of the truth, not the truth itself	6
V. That the redemption of man could not have been effected by any save by God Himself	7
VI. How unbelievers object to our assertion that God redeemed us by His death and so showed forth His love towards us as for us to have come to conquer the devil	8
VII. That the devil had no just right against man; and why it seems as though he had: and wherefore God should have delivered man in this way	9
VIII. How, although the humiliations we assert Christ under- went, belong not to His divinity, they yet appear to unbelievers to be disparaging when asserted of Him as Man: and whence it seems to them that as Man He did not die of His own free will	12

CHAP.	PAGE
IX. That it was of His own free will that He died : and what is meant by "He was made obedient even unto death ;" " wherefore God highly exalted Him : " and " I came not to do Mine own will : " and " He spared not His own Son : " and " not as I will, but as Thou wilt " .	15
X. On the same points ; and how they may rightly be understood differently	19
XI. What it is to sin ; and what, to make satisfaction for sin	23
XII. Whether it beseemeth God to remit sins of His mercy alone, without any due ransom being paid	25
XIII. That in the course of things nothing is less to be tolerated than that the creature should deprive his Creator of due honour, and not repay what he has taken	27
XIV. In what way the punishment of the sinner gives honour to God	29
XV. Whether God would suffer His honour to be profaned even in the very least	30
XVI. The reason why from among mankind must be replaced the number of angels who fell	32
XVII. That other angels could not be put in the place of those .	33
XVIII. Whether the saints will be more in number than are the lost angels	34
XIX. That mankind cannot be saved without satisfaction for sin	44
XX. That the satisfaction should be proportionate to the transgression, nor can man make it for himself	47
XXI. What is the gravity of sin	49
XXII. How man insulted God when he let himself be conquered by the devil ; for which he cannot make satisfaction .	52
XXIII. What man, by sinning, takes away from God, which he is unable to repay	53
XXIV. That so long as man repays not to God that which he owes, he cannot be made blessed ; nor is he excused by his want of ability	54
XXV. That of necessity by Christ shall mankind be saved .	59

CHAP.	PAGE
Book 33.	
I. How man was by God created upright, that he might be blessed in the enjoyment of God,	61
II. That man would not have died, had he not sinned	62
III. That man will rise again with the body in which he lives here	63
IV. That God will carry out in human nature that which He designed	63
V. That although this be necessary, yet God doth it not of necessity ; and what that necessity is which takes away or diminishes a benefit, and also what that necessity is which makes the kindness greater	64
VI. That the satisfaction whereby man can be saved can be effected only by one who is God and Man	66
VII. That it is necessary that some person should be perfect God and perfect man	67
VIII. That it behoved God to assume humanity from the race of Adam and from a woman, a virgin	68
IX. That the word alone, and humanity, should be united in one person, is imperative	71
X. That this same man would not lie under the necessity of death ; and how it would be that he could, or could not, sin ; also, why he, or an angel, are to be praised for their righteousness, whereas they cannot sin	73
XI. That he would die of his own free will ; and that mortality does not belong to pure human nature	77
XII. That although he would be partaker of our infirmities, yet would he not be wretched	80
XIII. That he would not, with our other infirmities, partake of our ignorance	81
XIV. How his death could exceed in value the many and great sins of mankind	82
XV. How that death can also atone for the sins of those who slew Him	84
XVI. How from the sinful mass God assumed sinless humanity ; and of the salvation of Adam and Eve	86

CHAP.	PAGE
XVII. How it is that He died without necessity, who could not have been except He was to die	90
XVIII. (a.) That for God there is neither necessity nor impossibility ; also, what is compulsory, and what non-compulsory, necessity	94
XVIII. (b). How the life of Christ atoned to God for the sins of men, and how it behoved Christ to suffer, and how it did not behove Him to suffer	100
XIX. The reasoning whereby from His death may be deduced the salvation of man	104
XX. How great, and how just, is the mercy of God	107
XXI. That is impossible that the devil should be saved	108
XXII. That by what has been said is proved the truth of the Old and of the New Testaments	109

SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTERS OF ST ANSELM.

Part 3.—WRITTEN WHEN A SIMPLE MONK.

1. To Lanfranc	111
2. To Odo and Lanzo	112
3. To Hernostus	116
4. To Gondulph	117
5. To Henry	119
6. To Hugo	121
7. To Gondulph	122
8. To Lambert and Falcerald	123
9. To Lanfranc	123
10. To Maurice	124
11. To Henry	125
12. To Rainald	126
13. To Gilbert	128
14. To Adelide	129

Part 33.—WRITTEN WHEN ABBOT OF BEC.

15. To William	130
16. To Henry	134

Part 333.—WRITTEN WHEN ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

17. To the Monks of Bec	136
18. To the Monks of Bec	140
19. To Fulk, Bishop	148
20. To the Monks of Bec	151
21. To Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons	152
22. To Boso	155
23. To Lanfrid, Abbot of St Ulmar	157
24. To Pope Pascal	158
25. To the Prior and Brethren of the Church at Canterbury :	161
26. To Donald, Donatus, and other Bishops	162
27. To Pope Pascal	164
28. To Pope Pascal	167
29. To Matilda, Queen of the English	168
30. To Roger, Robert, and other Abbots	169
31. To Gondulph	170
32. To his Nephew Anselm	171
33. To Matilda, Queen of the English	171
34. To Gondulph, Bishop	173
35. Anselm to his dearest Adruin	175
36. To Pope Pascal	176
37. To Burgundius and his wife Richera	177
38. To Richera	178
39. To Pope Pascal	179
40. To Pope Pascal	181
41. To William the Abbot and to the community of Bec	183
42. To his friend Cuno	184
43. To Gondulph, Archbishop	186
44. To Henry, King of the English	187
45. To Ernulph and the Monks of Canterbury	188
46. To Abbot Gerontius	189
47. To Henry, King of the English	190
48. To Orduvinus	191
49. To Warner	192
50. To Rainald	193
51. To Farman, Orduvinus, and Benjamin	195
52. To Henry, King of the English	197
53. To Henry, King of the English	198
54. Anselm to Guarmerius	200
55. To Henry, King of the English	200
56. Anselm to his Bishops	201
57. To Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons	203
58. To Eulalia, Abbess	204

	PAGE
<i>PART III.—continued.</i>	
59. To Henry, King of the English	206
60. To Mabilia, a Nun	206
61. To Matilda, Queen of the English	208
62. To Helgotus, Abbot of St Andænus	208
63. To Alexander, King of the Scots	210
64. To Robert and his Sisters and Daughters	211
65. To Turoid, a Monk of Bec	214
66. To Basilia	215
67. To Lambert, Abbot of St Bertinus	216
68. To Muriardachus, King of Ireland	217
69. To Muriardachus, King of Ireland	219
70. To Odo, Monk	221
71. To Thomas, Archbishop of York	222
72. To Godfrid	223
73. To Pope Paschal the Second	224
74. To Thomas, Archbishop of York	226
75. To Henry, King of the English	226
76. To a Certain Lady	227
77. To William, Bishop-Elect of Winchester	231
78. To Malchus, Bishop of Waterford	232
79. To Baldwin, King of Jerusalem	233
80. To G., Canon of St Quintin	234
81. To Matilda, Queen of the English	235
82. To Count Hugo	236
83. To Count Haco	237
84. To Henry, King of the English	238
85. To Richard, a Monk	238
86. To Willermus	239
87. To Herbert, Bishop of Thioford	240
88. To his Nephew	241
89. To Bernard and his Monks	242



LIFE OF ST ANSELM.

ANSELM, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 to 1109, while William Rufus and Henry the First ruled England, was neither Norman nor Saxon, but Italian, born in 1033 at or near Aosta, the chief place in a mountain valley near the St Bernard Passes. His father, Gundulph, a Lombard settler in those parts, whose wife, Ermenburga, was related to the lords of part of the valley, bore a name well-known there. Anselm was thus of noble birth: he had one sister: also some uncles: of other kindred we know nothing. His mother was good and kind, and seems to have done her own work in awakening her child's religious aspirations: his father a rough man, harsh to his son. Before Anselm was fifteen he wished to be a monk: this his father would not allow, and even a dangerous sickness (for which Anselm had prayed) did not gain the desired end. After some time he appears to have been driven away by his father's unkindness, and with one companion, a clerk, he crossed the Alps by Mont Cenis: spent three years in Burgundy and France proper, and then went to Avranches, where the learned Lanfranc of Pavia had founded a school: him Anselm finally joined at the Monastery of Bec, in the eastern part of Normandy, where he was now prior.

This all sounds unnatural if we forget that eight hun-

dred years have passed by since Anselm lived, when the cloister seemed the only place where a holy life was possible, and was the only place where learning could be acquired and intellect trained for the service of God. And this latter advantage was specially to be had at Bec: Lanfranc had formed the monastery into a school, while it still remained what it was at its foundation by Herlwin, a retainer of one of the guardians of William, son of Duke Robert of Normandy, that he might have a place where he could work out his soul's salvation. Herlwin, who was of noble Danish and Flemish descent, though unlearned, welcomed the learned Italian Lanfranc; and Normandy, which was really only beginning to assimilate Christianity, soon had in Bec a centre of intellectual energy which worked wonders beyond its narrow limits. Thus Bec, as it had attracted others, naturally drew the young Anselm, thirsting for cultivation: he remained there, and studied under Lanfranc. After a time he had to settle the question as to his future career: whether he should return to Italy and take up the inheritance his father had now left him, or become a monk. Lanfranc, whom he consulted, referred him to the Archbishop of Rouen, who advised him to take the latter course; and certainly the peculiar gifts of Anselm had the fullest scope then possible in the life he chose. At twenty-six years old he became a monk at Bec: after three years more he became prior; and fifteen years after that, in 1078, on the death of the founder Herlwin, Anselm became abbot, and remained so for another fifteen years, till 1093.

These thirty years are likely to be lost sight of when we pass on to the years which followed after 1093, during which the vicissitudes of the active life of nations and rulers affected Anselm's existence, the varied tale making those years appear longer. But it was what

Anselm grew to be, and showed himself to be, through those thirty years in the monastery by the "Beck," among his pupils and young monks and brethren of his own standing, which not only caused him to be chosen archbishop by the English, but enabled him to behave in most trying situations as one whose ideal was clearly before him, and whose life had become so completely moulded to that divine ideal as to be quite untouched by temptations which others could not understand were none to him. So, in those years, he taught and cared for his brethren: became the object of passionate affection on the part of the younger men more especially: drew all men to him by his wonderful sweetness: corrected the faulty without losing their love: prayed, meditated, wrote. Only those who know his prayers and meditations¹ can appreciate the devotional side of his character: the intellectual side is to be studied in his theological treatises, one of which is included in this volume. At Bec he wrote three dialogues on the ideas of Truth, Free-will, Sin. Also two other treatises, applying intellect to understand and prove its faith out of its own resources. One "Monologion" is a soliloquy on the ground of belief in God: the other "Proslogion" an address to God by the soul seeking to discover whence comes the idea of God in the human mind. He was quite original in his method of treatment: it is the argument from ideas; Plato applied to Christianity. He remained unfollowed by the schoolmen; his method was like that of more modern thinkers; and he is for the devout of all ages: prayer and intellectual effort intermingle in his "Proslogion" especially.

Once, wearied, he asked the Archbishop of Rouen to allow him to give up his post of abbot; but he was refused. As abbot, he had to take part in the outward

¹ There is a selection edited by Dr Pusey (Parker).

business which arose from the numerous possessions of the abbey in England, as well as Normandy ; so, after 1078, when he became abbot, he more than once visited England, became personally known there, and much liked by the English, who found him more sympathising with their character and ways than Lanfranc, now Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1088, Lanfranc died, only one year after William the Conqueror.

To understand at all the tangled history of the following years, we must remember that William, as Duke of Normandy, had ruled by his own powerful personality, and custom being in those days stronger than law, and depending very immediately upon force, William had established, in the face of the strongly-organised power of the Roman See as administered by Hildebrand, the "custom" of appointing and deposing bishops and abbots as pleased himself : "all things, divine and human, waited on his nod," says the chronicler Eadmer. When he came to England, he brought these "customs" with him : novelties they were in that realm, but his power bore down everything, and he generally used it in the cause of right and order. His choice of Lanfranc as his adviser shows that he meant to do his best for the Church ; still he himself was the head in all things, Lanfranc working with, but under, him. When these two great men were gone, all was altered : William the Red seized the revenues of the See of Canterbury and kept it vacant for three years, during which time the worst specimens of ecclesiastics got the upper hand, and all was disorder, misery, and wickedness. From the chronicle of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury at this time, we see how it was that reference to Rome grew to be looked on as a kind of protection, and that the well-intentioned clergy sought thus to interpose some kind of law between the helpless and their brutal oppressors.

The barons did not like the great see of Canterbury to be thus kept vacant: in 1092, Hugh of Avranches, Earl of Chester, begged his old friend Anselm to come over and help him in reorganising a monastery. On Anselm's refusal (for already there was a rumour that he might be made archbishop, and he did not wish it), the Earl pleaded sickness, and entreated him to come: Anselm could not withstand the loving desire, and came. The community of Bec bade him stay on in England, and when, after five months he wanted to return, the king stopped him. In March 1093 William fell ill at Gloucester, sent for Anselm, treated him as his spiritual father, and being, as all thought, very near his end, he sought to repair the past by naming Anselm to be archbishop, at the urgent request of his nobles. Anselm refused: then followed a strange scene: he was compelled by actual force to take the pastoral staff from the king's hand, and was dragged to the church, protesting; but the king ordered him to be at once invested with the temporalities of the see, as Lanfranc had held them. Delay ensued, for it was necessary to have the leave of the Duke of Normandy, the Archbishop of Rouen, and the community of Bec, before Anselm could be transferred from the abbacy to Canterbury; and at Bec they loved him too well to give him up without protest; during this interval Anselm saw that he ought to accept the burden from which he had shrunk, seeing the terrible state of disorder in the English church and the misery caused thereby. The king, after all, recovered, and breaking all his promises, was more oppressive than before. Anselm made three stipulations before he would be consecrated: First, that he was to have all the possessions of the see, as Lanfranc had held them. Secondly, the king must have him for his adviser and

trust him as his father. Thirdly, he, with the Norman Church, had acknowledged Pope Urban, not Clement, the Anti-Pope: and he could not change. (Neither had as yet been acknowledged in England.) The king answered favourably but cautiously, saying that as to the property of the see Anselm should have all that Lanfranc had, but he would make no promise about any further claim. A few days later, when he had received the letters from Normandy giving Anselm leave to accept the see, he sent for him to Windsor, and begged him to agree to the choice of the whole realm and of himself; but asked as a personal favour to himself that those military vassals of his own to whom since Lanfranc's death he had made grants of church lands, should keep them. This Anselm refused, for he knew that it would be a permanent loss to the Church, and felt that he ought not to give his consent to that. William was very angry; but at last he yielded to the universal clamour, and ordered Anselm to be seized of all the Church possessions as Lanfranc had been. He was enthroned September 5, 1093; and consecrated December 4, 1093, by the Archbishop of York. William soon quarrelled with him: refusing as too small a contribution of money which Anselm had sent him; and when in February 1094 he left for Normandy, and Anselm begged for a council to be called which might reform abuses, William, irritated, would not summon one. On the king's return, Anselm asked leave to go to Rome for the pallium, the white woollen stole with four crosses, badge of his office, which it was the recognised custom for every newly-made bishop to get from Rome: William refused: *he* had not yet acknowledged Urban, and, *by his father's customs*, no one could acknowledge a Pope in England without his leave. Here lies the origin of the whole quarrel between

Anselm and the kings of England, William and Henry : he believed the then universal law of the Roman Church to be binding on him ; they had the English dislike to foreign interference. Anselm reminded the king of the condition he had laid down when he was consecrated ; and again asked for the great Council of England. It met at Rockingham, in Derbyshire, March 11, 1095. Anselm asked the great assembly how he was to keep his obedience to the Apostolic See without breaking his faith to the king. The bishops were timid, advising and urging him to give up to the king : Anselm was firm : it came to threats : but at last the laymen stood on the archbishop's side, and the popular feeling went against the bishops. The question was adjourned to Whitsuntide, and Anselm left the court. The king in the meantime had sent to Rome for the pallium, and by Whitsuntide a papal legate had come back with the messengers and brought it ; he reported that Urban was ready to grant special favours to the king during his lifetime : so Urban was formally acknowledged in England. Failing to induce the Pope to depose Anselm, William made friends with him ; and as Anselm refused to receive the pall, symbol of spiritual authority, from lay hands, royal though those hands might be, it was laid on the altar at Canterbury, and Anselm took it thence, June 10, 1095. The next year was rather quieter : the first Crusade enabled William to buy Normandy from his brother for three years : of course during that time he redoubled his extortions, and Anselm, who had begun to try to improve matters in England, was persecuted by the king on some mere pretext, and cited to appear in his court. Anselm asked leave to go to Rome : he felt he wanted some help and advice : again in August and October he asked in vain : but at last the king gave

way : Anselm went October 15, 1097 : the king softened at parting, and received Anselm's blessing. He went from Dover, with hardly any baggage or belongings : William seized the property of the see at once : thus Anselm left his see to appeal from tyranny to what in those days was held to be the source of divine rule on earth.

After Easter 1098, he and two friends, one of whom was Eadmer, to whose chronicle we owe much of our knowledge of Anselm's doings, reached Rome : journeys in those days were toilsome and full of hardship ; in estimating what Anselm underwent this element should not be forgotten. At Rome he was treated with great honour, but no decision was given. He spent the summer at a village on a hill near Benevento, where he finished the treatise "*Cur Deus Homo*," which forms part of this volume. The Pope would not release him from his archbishopric ; a year and a half passed in waiting : Anselm was invited to the Council of Bari in October 1098, and was there called upon to justify to the Easterns the creed of the West : and as to Anselm's own business, the Council advised the excommunication of William. Anselm, returning to Rome for the winter, found there one of the clerks of the king's chapel, who had been taking measures to influence the action of the Roman Court : so a space of nine months was granted to the king for consideration. Anselm staid for the Lateran Council at Easter, 1099 ; where the Pope placed him in the place of highest honour ;¹ "various decrees of discipline were renewed : among others, one of excommunication was passed with acclamation against all who gave or received investiture of churches from lay hands, and who for church honours, became" the men "of temporal lords. Thus, the very usages of England and Normandy to which Anselm had conformed were

¹ Dean Church.

now condemned by Rome." Anselm saw it was of no use waiting longer: the Pope did not mean to quarrel openly with England: so he went and lived at Lyons, with his old friend Archbishop Hugh. Pope Urban died July 1099; King William, August 1100, while Anselm was working in the diocese of Lyons: his return was urgently desired by Henry and the barons, and on 23rd September 1100 he landed: met the king at Salisbury. Henry had already been consecrated and crowned by the bishop of London, promising that he would not rob the church, nor take possession of vacant church lands: his position was still insecure as against his brother Robert, and he needed the support of Anselm. But he was quite determined to retain the "customs" of his father and brother, and even went further, requiring Anselm to be anew invested by himself with the archbishopric.

This would have implied that a spiritual office was dependent on the will of the temporal ruler for the time being: and what Anselm had heard at the Lateran Council had shown him that Rome condemned all lay investiture to church dignities: as a matter of simple obedience to the generally acknowledged chief spiritual authority he felt he must refuse: he said so. The matter was by consent referred to Rome. In the meantime Anselm, October 1100, decided that Edith, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland and the English Margaret, was not bound by conventual vows which she had been forced for safety's sake to appear to have taken; and married the royal couple: also, when Robert invaded England, and the Norman chiefs wavered, Anselm held them to the king. The answer from the Pope—Paschal the 2nd, it was now—ran thus: he was willing to grant much, but not the right of lay investiture. Henry sent a second embassy to Rome:

three bishops, and two of Anselm's friends: the public answer given by the Pope, and the letters they brought home, again refused the king's request, but Henry's three bishops declared that in a private audience the Pope had spoken differently. This could not be accepted: a temporary compromise was made, Anselm agreeing not to interfere with any bishops or abbots whom Henry should appoint in the meantime, and Henry promising Anselm should not be required to consecrate them; another embassy being sent to clear the matter up. At last, Anselm got the council he had so long asked for: Henry held one at Westminster at Michaelmas 1102, which aimed at settling the discipline of the clergy, and improving general morality. The high character of Anselm was beginning to tell; the standard of the clergy to be raised: some bishops appointed by the king afterwards repented, and would not receive the pastoral ring and staff, or be consecrated, except by Anselm's authority: one even suffered the loss of all rather than do so.

Paschal, in answer, positively prohibited lay investiture. The king was determined no man in his realm should be another man's subject, that was *his* view of the matter; and the Pope really believed that as the successor of St Peter, all spiritual jurisdiction came from him: and the spiritual had a tendency to include the territorial power in those days. Anselm simply looked on it as a matter of obedience; and obedience to the spiritual power came first in his eyes: he was bound, first of all, to his ecclesiastical superior, who only could give him power to serve the king in his English Church. The Pope had written to Anselm: the king would not hear the letter: Anselm would not open it save in the king's presence, lest any should say it had been tampered with. Henry grew furious; in Lent 1103 he came to

Canterbury and threatened Anselm; and then suggested that Anselm himself had better go to Rome: so after Eastêr he went; it was too hot to go on to Italy: he stayed at Bec: at the end of August he set out; at Rome he found an agent of the king, the same who had been there on the part of William Rufus, one William Warelwast, clerk of the king's chapel. Before the Pope and the Roman Court this man pleaded on Henry's side: Anselm was silent; "He would not plead," says Eadmer, "that mortal man should be made the door of the church;" but he was only waiting for orders, longing to be allowed to do his proper work. Warelwast concluded thus, "Know all mên present, that not to save his kingdom will King Henry lose the investitures of his churches." The Pope broke out, "Nor before God, to save his head, will Pope Paschal let him have them." Further, the Pope's counsellors advised that in some lesser matters of custom Anselm should indulge the king, who might personally be exempted from excommunication; but that all who infringed the prohibition of investitures must be excommunicate. Paschal wrote courteously to the king, gave Anselm his blessing, and confirmed him in the primacy of Canterbury. On the road to Lyons, Warelwast, who had joined Anselm as he went along, delivered to him a message from the king, to the effect that if Anselm was going to be with him *as his predecessors had been* with former kings, he would be welcome in England. Anselm took the hint, and again remained at Lyons, dependent on his old friend. There he waited a year and a half: the state of things in England grew unbearable: and he was blamed on all sides for things he could not alter. He could not rightly thus go on suffering the evils which the Church was enduring in England, without doing his utmost to guard his flock; and he

saw that Paschal was going to do no more. So in March 1105 he went northwards, visiting on his way Adela, Countess of Blois and Chartres, Henry's sister, who was ill; he let her know that he was on his way to excommunicate the king. She contrived that her brother and Anselm should meet at the Eagle Castle, in the Bec neighbourhood (Henry was just preparing to struggle finally for Normandy), and there, July 22, 1105, the possession of his revenues was granted to Anselm, and he was restored to the king's friendship. But *still* the king insisted on the recognition of the right of investiture; reference had again to be made to Rome.

By this time however, one exaction after another had made the down-trodden clergy clamour for their head, and the bishops, including the very men who had gone against him, wrote imploring him to return: "For *now* we are seeking in this cause, not what is ours, but what is the Lord's." There were yet more delays, more embassies, more discussions; then at last Paschal gave the archbishop authority to release any who had incurred the penalty of excommunication for breaking the canons concerning homage and investiture; so that he was able to go back to England and work with the bishops; but the Pope gave no rule to guide Anselm as to the future. In September 1106 Henry by the victory at Pinchebrai became master of Normandy, and in August 1107 an assembly was held at London. The king and bishops conferred together, and at last a conclusion was reached, which now appears so natural and obvious that one might ask why Paschal had not managed the settlement sooner. For he having allowed *homage*, which Urban had forbidden equally with investiture, the king yielded the latter point, and in the words of Eadmer,¹ "in the presence of Anselm, the multitude standing by,

¹ Dean Church's translation.

the king granted and decreed that from that time forth for ever no one should be invested in England with bishopric or abbey by staff and ring, either by the king or by any lay hand ; Anselm also allowing that no one elected to a prelacy should be refused consecration on account of homage done to the king." Then bishops were appointed to the many empty sees, and consecrated on the 11th August at Canterbury, all being now friendly to Anselm.

It would seem that by securing the *homage* the royal power as sole ruler over the land was vindicated and confirmed ; the principle that spiritual *jurisdiction* as well as spiritual power is given by the spiritual, not by the temporal, ruler, was vindicated by Anselm in the long resistance which ended thus. There was an evil consequent upon Anselm's success ; the habit which ensued of appealing to Rome to decide between the royal power and the heads of the spirituality in the realm of England : this right, acknowledged for spiritual ends, was both abused to further the worldly advancement of foreigners, and extended to matters which had no spiritual side, and four hundred years later the English shook themselves free ; but who can say that for a time the close connection with Italy and its greater civilisation was not better for England than that our rough forefathers should have been left to settle everything by rude force, and crush out the weak beginnings of gentler teaching and intellectual growth ? That Anselm was most certainly entirely single-minded in the matter, no one who reads his devotional works and his letters can doubt.

He lived not two years after this : did all he could : Henry listened to him, and corrected some great evils which Anselm told him of. In a great Whitsuntide assembly the canons of the Synod of London against

clerical marriage were affirmed. Anselm asserted against Thomas, Bishop-Elect of York, the paramount claims of the see of Canterbury. In these years he wrote a treatise concerning the Agreement of Foreknowledge and Free-will. Gradually his strength failed: he felt no pain: only would have liked to live till he had solved a question he was thinking of, as to the origin of the soul. On the Tuesday in Holy Week 1109 he was seen to be dying; they read him the Gospel for the day: on the Wednesday, as day was breaking, he passed away, April 21, 1109. He was buried in the minster at Canterbury, of which he had been nominally sixteen years archbishop: much of the time an impoverished, wandering exile.

So Anselm the monk, theologian, abbot, archbishop, worked in his day: Saint Anselm he was formally named in 1494. But to know Anselm the man, the personality which lay beneath, we must read not only his deeper treatises, and read, study, and use his meditations and prayers (though these reveal his beautiful individuality wonderfully), but also his letters. Here we see him as he was to his friends, his pupils: here we find bursts of tenderness which put our own feelings into words and re-echo them to us: here also we find the man of strict integrity and a single eye, who plainly and lovingly rebukes sin wherever it may be, and the brave servant of the Church who stands firm for her, though regardless of self. Only about one-fifth of these letters are here given, but by them the history of Anselm's life can be traced, and his sufferings estimated. Also, from them we can give some idea of the extent of his personal influence and of the prestige of the Church of Canterbury, which the chronicler Eadmer incidentally terms "the mother of all England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the neighbouring isles."

It is but one human life, one personal development of Christianity we may here learn to know ; but it is so beautiful, so attractive in its strength, that to some whose lives have been for years influenced by him, whose deepest thoughts have been by his writings raised higher and guided onwards, it is a subject of hope that in the future life Anselm may be to them not an historical figure, a name, a thought only, but a friend seen "face to face."

R. C.





SAINT ANSELM'S PREFACE.

I WAS obliged to complete the work hereto subjoined more quickly than was advisable, and therefore to make it briefer than I could wish, on account of some who had transcribed the first portions for themselves before it was as yet finished and ripely considered. For I should have inserted and added many things that I have left out, had I been allowed to produce it in quiet and with sufficient time. But in great trouble of spirit (which how and why I have suffered, God knoweth), I began in England, and finished it while a wanderer in the Capuan province.

I have called it, from the matter whereof it treats, "Why was God made man?" and have divided it into two books. The first of these contains certain objections of unbelievers who reject the Christian faith because they think it contrary to reason, with the answers of the faithful; and finally, setting Christ aside, (as though He had never been) proves by logical arguments that it is impossible for any man to be saved without Him.

In a like manner, in the second book, (as though nothing were known of Christ) it is shown no less plainly by reason and in truth, that human nature was made to this end, that at some time man in his completeness, *i.e.* in body and soul, should enjoy a blessed

immortality ; and that it is necessary that, what man was made for, to that he should come : but that only by one who is man and God, and of necessity by all which we believe of Christ, could this be done.

I request all who choose to transcribe this book, to place at the beginning of it this little preface, with the chapters of the whole work ; so that into whosoever hands it may come, he may see as in its countenance whether there be in the whole form aught which he will not disdain.



BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

THE QUESTION ON WHICH THE WHOLE WORK DEPENDS.

OFTEN, both by word of mouth and by letter, have I been eagerly asked to write down the explanatory arguments with which I am accustomed to answer those who ask about various points of our faith: for they say that they enjoy them, and think them conclusive. They inquire, not that they may through reason be led to faith, but that they may be edified by the insight of those who do believe, and that they may, as far as they can, be always ready to give an effectual answer to anyone who asks for a reason of the faith that is in us. The unbelieving often question (deriding Christian simplicity as infatuated), and the faithful wonder in their own hearts, for what reason, and by what necessity, God was made man, and by His death, as we believe and confess, gave life to the world; since He might have done this by another person, whether angelic or human; or by His sole will. On this point not the learned only, but also many unlearned persons inquire much, and ask the reason of it. Therefore

since many desire this subject to be treated, and since the elucidation, though very difficult to carry out, is intelligible to all when completed, and attractive on account of its usefulness and the beauty of the reasoning: I will try (although what should be enough has been said by the holy Fathers on the subject) to show forth to those who are seeking, that which God may deign to disclose to me. And since question and answer is an easy way of explaining things, I shall make one of my petitioners my interlocutor—*Boso* shall ask, and *Anselm* answer, as follows.

CHAPTER II.

HOW THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE ABOUT TO BE
ASSERTED, ARE TO BE RECEIVED.

Boso. **J**UST as right order requires that we should believe the deep things of the Christian faith before we presume to discuss them by means of our reason; so exactly does it seem to me to be culpable carelessness if after we are settled in the faith, we do not seek to understand that which we believe. Wherefore since by the prevenient grace of God I so hold, as I believe, the faith of our redemption, as that if by no exercise of reason whatever were I able to understand it, yet would nothing by any possibility have power to tear me away from that firm conviction: I ask you to explain to me that which, as you know many besides me are asking: namely, by what necessity and for what reason hath God, being omnipotent, assumed, in order to its restoration, the humiliations and weakness of human nature?

Anselm. What you ask of me is above my powers,

and I fear to treat of these depths, lest, if anyone should imagine or see that I did not satisfy him, he should rather conclude that the actual truth did not exist, than that my intellect was unable to grasp it.

B. You should not so much fear this, as bear it in mind (for it often happens during the discussion of a question that God reveals what hitherto was unperceived): and hope for God's grace, because if you freely impart what you have received of free gift, you will deserve to be endowed with higher gifts to which you have not yet attained.

A. There is another thing on account of which I see that we can with difficulty, if at all, discuss the subject fully among ourselves at present; since to do that some clear conception is necessary of power, necessity, will, and some other things, which are so connected that none of them can be fully considered without the others; and consequently the treatment of these involves a labour, not as I think so very easy, nor yet altogether useless; for ignorance concerning them makes some things difficult, which become easy when these are understood.

B. You might on occasion speak briefly concerning these points, so that we may grasp what is sufficient for the work of the moment, and postpone what more there is to be said to another time.

A. This also strongly restrains me from yielding to your prayer: that since the subject is not only precious, but also, as it is in form perfect beyond the sons of men, so also is it in rational perfection above the human intellect; therefore I fear lest, just as I myself am apt to be indignant with bad artists when I see our Lord depicted under a misshapen form, so it may happen to myself, if I presume to investigate so sublime a subject by rude, contemptible speculations.

B. Neither should this stop you, because as you allow anyone who can to put the thing more clearly, so you prevent no one whom your decision does not please from writing better than yourself: but (and this must put an end to all your excuses) that which I ask of you you are not going to do for the learned, but for me and for those who with me ask it of you.

A. Since I see both your importunity and that of those who out of love and religious zeal are joining you in this request, I will try my very best (God helping me, and I being aided by your prayers frequently promised to me when I have asked for them for this very object) not so much to show you that which you seek as to seek it with you; but on this condition, which I desire should be implied in all which I say: that is, that if I shall say anything which a greater authority shall not confirm, even though I should seem to prove it logically, it shall be received with no more certitude than is given by the fact that so it appears to me in the meantime, until God shall show me better in any way. For if I am in any measure able to satisfy your inquiries, it will be certain that a wiser than I could do it more fully; and it is yet further to be noted, that whatever man may say or be able to know about it, deeper arguments will lie yet hidden within so great a subject.

B. That is plain enough (to use an infidel phrase): but it is fair that whilst we are seeking to investigate the ground of our faith, we should bring forward the objections of those who will on no account give their adhesion to that same faith without some reason for it. For although that same reason is sought by them because they do not, but by us because we do, believe; yet what we all seek is one and the same thing: and should you say anything in your answers which sacred authority should seem to contradict, may I be allowed

to bring it forward? so that you may explain that this opposition does not exist.

A. Speak as you think advisable.

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CHAPTER III.

OBJECTIONS OF UNBELIEVERS AND ANSWERS OF THE FAITHFUL.

B. UNBELIEVERS, mocking at our simplicity, reproach us with doing God wrong and putting Him to shame when we assert that He descended into the womb of a virgin, was born of a woman, grew, was nourished with milk and the ordinary food of man, and (to be silent on many other points, which seem unsuitable to God) that He suffered weariness, hunger, thirst, scourging, and death with thieves on the cross.

A. We do God no wrong nor put Him to shame, but giving thanks with all our hearts we praise Him and proclaim the ineffable heights of His mercy; for just so far as by marvellous and unimaginable ways He redeemed us from so many and so well-deserved evils in which we were sunk and restored us to so great and unmerited blessings, just so far, I say, He showed forth for us the greater love and compassion. But if they were thoughtfully to consider how consistently the restoration of humanity was thus effected, they would not deride our simplicity, but would with us praise the wise beneficence of God. For it was needful that as by the disobedience of man death had come upon the human race, so by the obedience of man should life be given back. And that as sin, which was the cause of our condemnation, had its first beginning from a woman,

so the author of our justification and salvation should be born of woman; and that the devil, who had vanquished man by persuading him to taste the fruit of the tree, should in like wise be conquered by man, by that death which He bore on the tree. There are also many other things, which being carefully studied, show the ineffable beauty of the redemption in this way procured for us.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT THESE ANSWERS APPEAR SUPERFLUOUS TO UNBELIEVERS, AND LIKE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE TRUTH, NOT THE TRUTH ITSELF.

B. **T**HESE are all beautiful sayings, and to be accepted as pictured realisations: but if there be not something solid whereon they rest, they are not a sufficient reason to the incredulous why we ought to believe God to have willed to suffer as we assert He did. Now he who wishes to paint a picture chooses something solid whereon to work, that what he paints may last; but no one designs on the water or on air, since no trace of the picture would remain thereon. Wherefore when we display these logical harmonies which you enumerate, as it were in the guise of pictures of a past action, to unbelievers, they (considering what we believe to be not a real thing which happened, but only a fiction) think we do but paint pictures on the clouds. Therefore is to be shown, first, the reasonable solidity of the verity; that is, the necessity which proves that God should or could descend to that which we predicate. Therefore in order that the actual truth should shine forth more

brightly, these harmonies should be displayed as a picture of the solid reality.

A. Does not this sufficiently appear to be an effectual reason, why it behoved God to do these things which we assert?—namely, that the human race, His so precious creation, would have utterly perished, and it was not fitting that the intentions of God for man should suddenly be frustrated; and again, that His design could not have been carried out unless the human race had been delivered by the Creator Himself?

CHAPTER V.

THAT THE REDEMPTION OF MAN COULD NOT HAVE BEEN EFFECTED BY ANY SAVE BY GOD HIMSELF.

B. **I**F this deliverance were said to be effected by anyone else rather than by God Himself (whether by angel or by man), in what way matters not, the human intellect would accept the fact much more readily. For God might have made some one man without sin, not of the sinful mass of humanity, nor from any one man, but as He made Adam: by such a one it would appear that this same work might have been accomplished.

A. Don't you understand that whatever other person should save man from death eternal, to him would man rightly belong? If that were so, he could in nowise be restored to that place of dignity which he would have filled had he not sinned; since he who was to have been the servant of God only, and equal in all things to the good angels, would be the slave of one who was not God and to whom the angels owed no service.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW UNBELIEVERS OBJECT TO OUR ASSERTION THAT GOD REDEEMED US BY HIS DEATH AND SO SHOWED FORTH HIS LOVE TOWARDS US AS FOR US TO HAVE COME TO CONQUER THE DEVIL.

B. **T**HIS it is at which they marvel so much: that we call this deliverance redemption. "For," say they to us, "in what capacity, or in what prison, or in whose power, were you confined, whence God could not set you free unless He ransomed you with so many toils, and finally by His blood?" And when we say to them: "He redeemed us from our sins, and from His wrath, and from hell, and from the power of the devil, whom because we could not, He came Himself to subdue, and He bought back for us the kingdom of heaven; and since He did all these things thus, He shows forth how He loves us;" they answer: "If you say that God could not do all these things by His word alone, He who you say created all things by His word, you contradict yourselves, for you assert Him to be powerless. If on the other hand you say that He could, but willed it not save in this way, how can you call Him wise whom you would affirm to have willed without any reason to suffer things so misbecoming? If, then, He wills not to punish the sins of men, man is free from sins and from God's anger, and from hell, and from the devil's power, all which He suffers on account of His sins; and receives those things of which for his sins he is now deprived.

"For who hath power over hell or the devil? whose is the kingdom of heaven but His who made all things? Whatsoever therefore you fear or love, all lies in the

power of Him whom nought can resist ; wherefore, if He would not save the human race except in the manner you assert, when He might have done it by His will alone ; see (to speak moderately) how you impugn His wisdom : for if a man were without cause to do by severe labour that which he might do with ease, he would not be considered wise by anyone. Therefore your assertion, that God thus showed forth how much He loved you, can be defended by no argument unless it be shown that man could not possibly have been saved otherwise. For if it could not otherwise have been done, then perchance it would have been necessary that He should thus show forth His love ; but now since He *could* save man otherwise, what reason is there that on account of showing forth His love, He should do and bear what you say ? Does He not show forth to the good angels, for whom He endures not similar things, how much He loves them ? But when you say He came down to conquer the devil for you, in what sense do you take the phrase ‘came down’ ? Is not the reign of God’s omnipotence universal ? How then was it needful for God to come down from heaven to conquer the devil ?” Unbelievers think they can fairly taunt us with these objections.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT THE DEVIL HAD NO JUST RIGHT AGAINST MAN ;
AND WHY IT SEEMS AS THOUGH HE HAD : AND
WHEREFORE GOD SHOULD HAVE DELIVERED MAN
IN THIS WAY.

B. (continuing). BUT that which we are wont to assert, *i.e.*, that God should have proceeded against the devil to release man, rather by

right of equity than by His own sufferings, since the devil by slaying Him in whom was no cause of death, and who was God, had justly lost the power which he had over sinners ; also, that otherwise unjust violence would have been done him, since he justly had possession of man, whom he had not drawn to his side by violence, but who had come over to him voluntarily : all this, to my mind, is of no force whatever. For did the devil or man belong to himself or to any other save God, or were in the power of any but God, this perchance might be justly asserted ; but seeing that neither devil nor man exists but by God, and that neither subsists outside His power, what claim should God urge with His own, concerning His own, upon His own, except to punish him as His slave who had persuaded his fellow-slave to desert their common lord and to join him, and had, a traitor, received the fugitive : a thief, welcomed the other thief with the theft from their lord ? Each and either of them was a thief, since, one persuading the other, each stole himself from his lord : so what could have been more just, had God chosen so to do ? Or if God, the Judge of all, were to take away the possession, man, from the power of one who holds him in so unjust possession—whether to punish him otherwise than by the devil or to spare him—where would be the injustice ? For although man were justly tormented by the devil, he yet tormented man unjustly. For man had deserved to be punished ; nor by anyone more suitably than by him with whom he had agreed to sin. Yet was it no merit in the devil to punish ; rather did it make him so much the more unjust, as he was not drawn thereto by a love of justice, but was impelled by his own malicious instinct ; for he did it, God not commanding, but in His inscrutable wisdom, whereby He brings good out of evil, permitting it. And I think

that those who deem that the devil has some right to dominion over men are drawn to this opinion because they see men justly subjected to annoyance by the devil, and God permitting this with justice : and thence they infer that the devil inflicts it justly. But it happens sometimes that the same thing is just or unjust for different reasons, and hence is pronounced *wholly* just or unjust by those who do not look carefully into it. Suppose, for instance, some one should strike an innocent person, by whom he justly deserves himself to be smitten, yet if the one attacked ought not to defend himself, and yet strikes him who assaults him, he does this without just right. Thus this blow is wrongful on the part of him who strikes back again, since he ought not to defend himself ; but looking at the person who is struck in return it is just, since he who wrongfully strikes rightly merits to be smitten ; therefore the same action is just and unjust as it is looked at from different points of view, and it may happen to be considered only just by one, only unjust by another. So the devil is in this way said to harass man with justice, since God justly permits it, and man suffers it justly ; but man is not said to suffer it justly because of the justice of the infliction : only on account of his being punished by the just judgment of God. And though there be alleged that “handwriting of the ordinance,” which the Apostle says was “against us, and blotted out by the death of Christ ;” should anyone imagine to be signified by this that since the devil, as it were, by the bond of this handwriting, could, before the Passion of Christ, exact sin from man as usury for the first sin to which he had persuaded him, and also the penalty of sin, that therefore by this his right over man should seem to be proved : I by no means think that it should thus be understood. For that handwriting is not the devil’s : it

is called "the handwriting of the ordinance," and that ordinance was not of the devil, but of God. For by the just judgment of God it was decreed, and confirmed as it were by a deed, that man, who of his own free will sinned, can by himself avoid neither sin nor the penalty of sin; he is a spirit capable of taking a step, but not of retracing it; and "whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin," nor ought he who sins to be released without punishment, unless mercy should spare the sinner, free him, and lead him back again: yet we are, notwithstanding, to believe that under that ordinance the devil can find no right to torment man. Again, as in a good angel there is no unrighteousness at all, so in an evil angel is there no interior goodness: nothing therefore was there in the devil wherefore God should not use his power against the devil for man's deliverance.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW, ALTHOUGH THE HUMILIATIONS WE ASSERT CHRIST UNDERWENT, BELONG NOT TO HIS DIVINITY, THEY YET APPEAR TO UNBELIEVERS TO BE DISPARAGING WHEN ASSERTED OF HIM AS MAN: AND WHENCE IT SEEMS TO THEM THAT AS MAN HE DID NOT DIE OF HIS OWN FREE WILL.

A. **T**HE will of God ought to be a sufficient reason for us when He does anything, even if we do not see *why* He wills thus, for the will of God is never unreasonable.

B. That is true, if it be certain that God does will the thing in question; but many will never agree that God doth will a thing, if it appear contrary to reason.

A. What is it that seems to you unreasonable in one

saying that God willed those things which we believe concerning His Incarnation?

B. This, in a word: that the Highest should stoop to such indignities, the Omnipotent do aught by so great effort.

A. They who speak thus do not understand what we believe. For we assert the Divine Nature to be without doubt impassible, and in no way possibly to be brought down from its ineffable exaltation, nor to need to use effort to accomplish that which it wills. But the Lord Jesus Christ we assert to be true God and true Man, one Person in two natures, and two natures in one Person; wherefore when we say that God endured humiliation and infirmity, we understand this not according to the sublimity of the impassible nature, but according to the infirmity of the human nature which He bore; and thus no reason can be recognised as contradicting our faith. For we thus impute no humiliation to the divine substance, but show that there is one Person, both God and man: and therefore no humiliation of God is understood to have been involved in the Incarnation; but it is believed that the nature of man was exalted.

B. So be it: let nothing be imputed to the Divine Nature, which is said of Christ according to the infirmity of man; but how could it be proved just or reasonable that God should so treat that Man whom the Father called His "beloved Son, in whom He was well pleased," and who called Himself the Son, or permit him to be treated thus?

What man would not be judged worthy of condemnation if he were to condemn the innocent in order to let the guilty go free? So it seems the difficulty follows which was asserted before; for if He could not save sinners otherwise than by condemning the just, where is

His omnipotence? and if He could, but would not, how do we defend His wisdom and justice?

A. God the Father did not treat that Man as you seem to think, nor did He deliver up the innocent to die for the wicked. For He did not either compel Him to die, nor permit Him to be slain, unwilling; but that One Himself bore His death by His own free will that He might save mankind.

B. Even if He did not compel Him to it against His will, since He consented to what the Father willed; yet in some way He seems to have coerced Him by commands. For it is said that Christ "humbled Himself, and became obedient to the Father unto death, even the death of the cross, wherefore God also highly exalted Him;" and that "He learned obedience by the things which He suffered;" and that "the Father spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all." And the Son Himself says: "I came not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me." And when about to enter upon His Passion, He said: "As my Father gave Me commandment, even so I do." Also: "The cup which my Father hath given Me, shall I not drink it?" And elsewhere: "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; nevertheless not what I will, but what Thou wilt." And once more: "Father, if this cup may not pass from Me, except I drink it, Thy will be done." In all these passages Christ appears to have suffered death more under the compulsion of obedience than by the spontaneous disposition of His own will.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT IT WAS OF HIS OWN FREE WILL THAT HE DIED :
AND WHAT IS MEANT BY "HE WAS MADE OBE-
DIENT EVEN UNTO DEATH : " " WHEREFORE GOD
HIGHLY EXALTED HIM : " AND " I CAME NOT TO
DO MINE OWN WILL : " AND " HE SPARED NOT
HIS OWN SON : " AND " NOT AS I WILL, BUT AS
THOU WILT. "

A. **I**T seems to me that you do not rightly distinguish
between that which He did under the constraint
of obedience, and that, which being inflicted on Him
because he adhered to His obedience, He bore without
any compulsion to obey.

B. I need that you should explain this more fully.

A. Why did the Jews persecute Him unto death ?

B. For nothing else than that in life and speech He
held unswervingly to truth and righteousness.

A. I think it was that, for God demands this from
every rational creature, and this it owes by obedience.

B. So we are bound to acknowledge.

A. Thus that Man owed that obedience to God His
Father, and humanity to Deity : and His Father re-
quired it of Him.

B. That is doubtful to no one.

A. So here you see what He did to fulfil what obed-
ience required of Him.

B. It is true : and I now see what that was which,
having brought on Himself by persisting in obedience,
He likewise bore. For death was inflicted on Him be-
cause He stood firm in His obedience, and He endured
it ; but how it is that obedience did not require *this*, I
do not understand.

A. Had man never sinned, ought he to suffer death, or should God require this of him?

B. According to our belief, neither would man die, nor would it be required of him that he should; but I want to hear from you the reason of this fact.

A. That the rational creature was made upright, and for this end, that it should be blessed in the enjoyment of God, you do not deny?

B. I don't deny it.

A. But you would never consider it like God to compel him whom He had created upright, for bliss, to be miserable for no fault of his own? now, for a man to die unwillingly is pitiable.

B. It is clear that if man had not sinned, it had not behoved God to require him to die.

A. Therefore, God did not compel Christ, in whom was no sin, to die; but Christ of His own will bore death, not from any obligation to give up His life, but on account of the obligation He was under to fulfil righteousness, in which He so firmly persevered, that He incurred death thereby. But it may be said that the Father commanded Him to die, since He did lay on Him a command to do that whereby He incurred death. Therefore, as the Father gave Him commandment, even so He did, and the cup which He gave Him, He drank, and He was made obedient to His Father even unto death; and thus He learnt obedience by the things that He suffered (that is, to what uttermost degree He should carry His obedience). But this word "learned" may be understood in two ways: either as meaning "He made others learn," or as showing that He proved by experience that of which He was not ignorant by anticipation. Wherefore the same Apostle, when He had said "He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross," added, "wherefore

God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name" (to which is similar the saying of David, "He shall drink of the brook in the way;" therefore shall He lift up His head). This is not said as though in no way He could have attained to that exaltation save by this "obedience" unto death, and as though this exaltation were only conferred in recompence for this obedience;—for before He had thus shown forth His obedience, He Himself said that all things had been given to Him of His Father, and that all things that the Father had were His;—but because that He Himself, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, had ordained that He should show forth to the world the ineffable height of His omnipotence in no other manner save by His death; hence that which was done by means of it only is not incongruously said to have been done on account of it. For if we intend to do anything, but propose to ourselves to do previously something else through which the first shall be effected: when that is already done which we choose should come first, if the execution then follows of what we designed, it may justly be said to be done by means of the other, because that is done on account of which the latter was deferred, since it was arranged to be done only after the other had taken place. If, suppose, there were a river which I could pass either on horseback or in a ship; and I decide to cross it in a ship, and thereupon put off crossing, because there is no vessel; when the ship is ready, if I cross, it may rightly be said of me, "The ship was ready, therefore he crossed." And we speak thus, not only when we decide to do a thing *by means* of that which we will shall precede, but also when we only decide that it shall take place *after* the other. For if any one postpones taking food because he has not yet said mass that day: that having been effected which he

wished first to do, he may rightly be thus addressed : "Now take food, because you have done that on account of which you were putting off eating." Much less, therefore, is the expression unsuitable when Christ is said to be exalted for that He endured death, by which and after which He decreed to be exalted. It may also be understood in that way in which the same Lord is said to have increased in wisdom and favour with God, not because it was so, but because He was as though it were so. Thus He was exalted after, as though it were because of His death. Therefore what He says, "I came not to do mine own will, but His which sent me," is like this other saying, "My doctrine is not Mine," for that which one has not from one's self, but from God, should not so much be called one's own as God's. But no man derives the truth which he teaches, nor an upright will, from himself but from God. Christ therefore came not to do His own will, but that of the Father; for the upright will, which He possessed, was not from humanity, but from Deity. "God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all," means only that He did not set Him free; many such expressions are found in the Holy Scriptures. But where He says, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not what I will but as Thou wilt;" and "if this cup may not pass away from Me except I drink it, Thy will be done:" He means by His "own will" the natural desire for preservation, whereby His human flesh shrank from the pain of death. But He says "the will of the Father," not for that the Father would prefer the death to the life of the Son; but because the Father willed not the human race to be restored, unless man should do something as great as was that death. Not because He is declaring the reason why another could not have done it, doth the Son say that the Father

willed His death, since He Himself preferred to die rather than that the human race should not be saved ; as though He could say : " Since Thou wilt not that the reconciliation of the world be otherwise accomplished, in this may I say that Thou wilt My death : Thy will be done, that is, let My death take place, that the world may be reconciled to Thee." For we often say that a person desires something because he does not will something else, which if he willed, that which he is said to desire would not take place ; as when we say he wishes to put out a lamp, who will not close the window through which comes the wind that extinguishes the lamp. So the Father, in this sense, willed the death of the son, in that He would have the world saved no otherwise than by man doing this so great deed, as I said before. And the salvation of man was so precious to the Son who willed it, that since in no other way He could effect it, it behoved Him to die ; wherefore He did as His Father gave Him commandment, and the cup which His Father gave Him, He drank, being obedient even unto death.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE SAME POINTS ; AND HOW THEY MAY RIGHTLY
BE UNDERSTOOD DIFFERENTLY.

A. (continuing). **I**T may likewise rightly be understood thus : that by that righteous volition, whereby the Son willed to die for the salvation of the world, the Father gave Him (but not under compulsion) the charge and cup of suffering, and spared Him not, but delivered Him up for us, and willed His death ; and that the Son Himself was obedient unto

death, and learned obedience by the things which He suffered. But as according to His humanity He had not the will to act rightly, from Himself, but from the Father, so that will also by which He willed to die that He might do so great good, He could not have save from "the Father of lights, with whom is no variable-ness, neither shadow of turning;" and as the Father, by giving the will, is said to draw, so it does not become inconsistent when He is asserted to impel. For as the Son says of the Father: "No one cometh to Me except the Father draw him"--so He might have said, "unless He impel him." In like manner He might have said, "No one goes willingly to death for My Name, unless the Father urge or draw him." For since by the will every one is drawn or urged to that which he unswervingly wills, there is no incongruity in saying that God draws, or urges, in giving that will; in which attraction or impulse no violence of necessity is understood, but the spontaneous and loving adherence of the good will received. If, therefore, it be thus impossible to deny that the Father, by giving that will, drew or impelled the Son to death, who does not see that in the same way He gave Him the command to endure death of His own free will, and the cup that He should drink of not unwillingly? And if the Son spared not Himself, but is rightly said to have given Himself up for us of His own free will, who can deny it to be rightly asserted that the Father, from whom He had such a will, spared Him not, but delivered Him up, and willed His death? For in this manner, by unchangeably and freely adhering to the will He received from the Father, was the Son made obedient to it even unto death, and learned from the things which He suffered, obedience, that is, what a great thing is to be done through obedience. For then there is true and free obedience, namely, when

the rational creature, not by necessity, but freely, adheres to the volition received from God. In other ways, also, we may rightly understand the Father to have willed the death of the Son, although these might well suffice. For as we say that he wills the same as another who carries out that other's will in act, so also we say that he wills the same as another who does not indeed act out, but approves, the decision of the other ; as, for instance, when we see some one firmly willing to suffer injury, in order that what he strongly desires may be effected, although we say that we wish him to suffer that penalty, yet we do not will or love his suffering, but the object of his determination. And we are accustomed to say of him who can prohibit anything and does not do so, that he wills that which he does not prohibit. Therefore, since the will of the Son pleased the Father, and He prohibited Him neither from willing nor from fulfilling what He willed, the Father is rightly asserted to have willed that the Son should endure so righteous and useful a death, although He loved not that He should suffer. He said that the cup might not pass from Him except He drank it, not for that He could not avoid death had He so willed, but because, as has been said, it was impossible for the world to be saved otherwise ; and He indefectibly willed rather to suffer death than that the world should not be saved. But He said those words that He might teach the human race that it could no otherwise be saved than by His death, not that He might show He had been in nowise able to avoid death. And whatever else like this is said of Him is so to be explained as that He may be believed to have died by no necessity, but of His own free will. For He was omnipotent : and we read of Him that He was offered up because He Himself willed it ; and He Himself said : " I lay down My life,

and I take it again ; no one taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." Since, therefore, He does it by His own power and His own will, in no sense can He rightly be said to be compelled to do it.

B. Only this, that God should permit Him, however willing, to be thus treated, does not appear consistent in such a Father of such a Son.

A. Surely it is most consistent in such a Father to give His consent to such a Son, when He wills something laudably for the honour of God, and usefully for the salvation of men, which could not otherwise have been effected.

B. Let us now turn to this point : how that death can be proved to be reasonable and necessary ; for otherwise it would appear that neither ought the Son to have willed, nor the Father to have insisted upon or permitted it. It is asked why God could not save man otherwise ? or if, when He could, He would not ? For it appears to be unworthy of God to have saved man in this way ; nor is it clear why that death would not avail to save mankind. For it is very strange if God so delights in or requires the blood of the innocent, that only on condition of His death will He, or can He, spare the guilty.

A. Since you have in this discussion identified yourself with those who will believe nothing unless on previous proof, I should wish to make with you an agreement, that nothing, not even the very least possible insinuation against God shall be granted by us, and that no proof, even the slightest (unless contradicted by a stronger), shall be rejected. For as the very least inconsistency in God is an impossibility as a matter of course, so the slightest proof, if not confuted by a stronger, necessarily holds good.

B. In this discussion I accept nothing more willingly than that this treaty may be jointly kept by us.

A. The only subject under discussion is the Incarnation of God, and what we believe concerning God made Man.

B. It is so.

A. Let us, then, suppose that the Incarnation of God, and those things which we assert of Him made Man, had never been; and let it be agreed upon between us that man was made for blessedness, which in this life he cannot have, nor can any one attain to it unless he be freed from sins, nor can any man pass through this life without sin;—and other things faith in which is necessary for eternal salvation.

B. So be it; for herein appears nothing unworthy of God or impossible to Him.

A. Thus, unto man is needful remission of sins, that he may attain to beatitude.

B. This we all hold.

CHAPTER XI.

WHAT IT IS TO SIN; AND WHAT, TO MAKE SATISFACTION FOR SIN.

A. **WE** have therefore to inquire wherefore God remits sins to man? and that we may do this the more thoroughly, let us first see what it is to sin, and what to make satisfaction for sin.

B. Explanation is your part: attention mine.

A. If angelic beings, or men, always repaid to God what they owe, they would never sin.

B. I do not wish to contradict that.

A. Thus to sin, is nothing else but not to repay to God one's debt.

B. What is the debt we owe to God?

A. The whole will of a rational creature ought to be subject to the will of God.

B. Nothing is more certainly true than this.

A. This is the debt which angels and men owe to God: paying which, none sins; and every one who does not pay it, *does* sin. This is uprightness, or rectitude of will, which constitutes the just or upright in heart, that is, in will; this is the sole and whole honour which we owe to God, and which God requires from us. Only such a will, when it can act, can do works pleasing to God; and when it cannot act, it pleases by itself alone, since no work is pleasing without it. Whoever renders not unto God this due honour, takes away from God that which is His, and does God dishonour: and *this* is sin. Also, as long as he does not repay what he took, he remains in fault; nor is it enough only to repay what was abstracted, but he ought for the insult done to return more than he took. For as it does not suffice, when one injures the health of another, to give him back his health, unless he make him some compensation for the injury of the suffering he has caused him: so, if one injures another's dignity, it is not sufficient that he rehabilitate that dignity, unless he restore something to give pleasure to the injured in proportion to the injury of dishonour done. And this is also to be noted: that when anyone repays what he took unjustly, he ought to give somewhat which could not have been required of him had he not taken that which was another's. Thus, therefore, each sinner ought to repay the honour of which he has robbed God: and this is the satisfaction which every sinner ought to make to God.

B. To all this, since we determined to work out the argument, I have nothing (although you rather frighten me) to say in opposition.

CHAPTER XII.

WHETHER IT BESEEMETH GOD TO REMIT SINS OF HIS MERCY ALONE, WITHOUT ANY DUE RANSOM BEING PAID.

A. **L**ET us go back, and see whether by mercy alone, no atonement being made to His honour, it may be fitting for God to forgive sins.

B. I cannot see why it should not beseem Him.

A. Thus to remit, is but this : not to punish sin ; and since the just treatment of unatoned sin is to punish it : if it be not punished, it is unjustly forgiven.

B. What you say is logically true.

A. But it beseemeth not God to forgive anything in His realm illegally.

B. I fear lest I sin if I assert the contrary.

A. Therefore it beseemeth not God thus to forgive unpunished sin.

B. This follows.

A. And there is somewhat else which follows, if sin be thus forgiven unpunished : since the same treatment would at God's hands be dealt to sinful and sinless ; which is not consistent with God.

B. I cannot deny it.

A. And see this : No one is ignorant that the righteousness of men under the law was recompensed by God according to its degree with a measure of retribution.

B. So we believe.

A. But if sin be neither punished nor atoned for, it falls under no law.

B. I can understand no otherwise.

A. Therefore wickedness, if it be forgiven solely on account of mercy, is freer than righteousness : which appears extremely inconsistent. And the inconsistency

further extends to this : that transgression gives likeness to God, for like as God is subject to no law, so also is it with wickedness.

B. I am unwilling to oppose your argument. But while God enjoins us explicitly to forgive those who sin against us, it does appear to be a contradiction that He should enjoin that upon us which beseemeth not Himself.

A. There is no contradiction in this injunction : for we may not appropriate what belongs to God alone : now it appertains to no one to take vengeance, save to Him who is Lord of all : for when earthly powers do this justly, God, by whom they are ordained to this very end, Himself does it.

B. You have cleared away the inconsistency which I thought existed ; but there is somewhat else, to which I want to hear you reply. For since God is so free that He is subject to no law, nor to the opinion of anyone, and so benign that nothing more benign may be sought to be imagined ; and since nothing is just or fitting except what He wills : it appears strange for us to say that He in nowise will, or that He ought not to forgive an injury done to Himself, of whom we beg forgiveness even for those which we do to others.

A. True is that which you state as to His freedom, will, and benevolence ; but we ought so reasonably to understand these as that we may not seem to impugn His dignity. For freedom is only as to what is expedient or fitting ; nor is that to be called benignity which affects anything unworthy of God. And what we say—that what He willeth is right and what He doth not will is wrong, is not so to be understood, as if, should God will something inconsistent, it would be right because He willed it. For it does not follow that if God would lie it would be right to lie, but rather that he were not God. For no will can ever desire to lie

except one in which truth is obscured, nay rather which is injured by deserting truth. Therefore, when it is said, "If God will to lie:" it is nothing else but "If the nature of God be such that He desire to lie," and thereupon it does not follow that deceit is right, unless it be so understood as when we say, speaking of two impossibilities, that if this is so, so likewise is that: and as this is not, so neither is that; for instance, if one were to say, "If water be dry, fire is damp;" neither being true, therefore it is true to say, "If God wills it, it is right," of such things only as it would not be unworthy of God to will. If God wills it should rain, then it is right that it should rain: and if He wills any man should be slain, it is right he should be slain. Wherefore, if it beseemeth not God to do anything unjustly or irregularly, it appertaineth not to His freedom, benignity, or will, to forgive, unpunished, the sinner who hath not paid to God that of which he robbed Him.

B. You deprive me of everything which I thought I could bring forward as an objection.

A. Will you go further, and see *why* it would not beseem God to act thus?

B. I listen willingly to whatever you say.

CHAPTER XIII.

THAT IN THE COURSE OF THINGS NOTHING IS LESS TO BE TOLERATED THAN THAT THE CREATURE SHOULD DEPRIVE HIS CREATOR OF DUE HONOUR, AND NOT REPAY WHAT HE HAS TAKEN.

A. **I**N the ordinary course of things, nothing is more intolerable than that a creature should deprive his Creator of due honour, and not repay that of which he deprives Him.

B. Nothing can be plainer than this.

A. But nothing is more unjustly allowed than that, than which nothing is less to be tolerated.

B. Neither is this obscure.

A. Then I think that you will not assert that God ought to allow that than which nothing is more unjustly tolerated ; as that a creature should not give back to God what he takes from Him.

B. By no means ; I see it is completely to be denied.

A. Then, if there be nothing greater or better than God, nothing is more just than that which subserves His honour in the disposition of all things ; that is, perfect justice, which is no other than God Himself.

B. Than this also, nothing is plainer.

A. Then, God upholds nothing more justly than He doth the honour of His own dignity.

B. I must grant it.

A. Doth it appear to you that He upholds it completely, if He permits it so to be taken away from Him, that neither is He repaid, nor “doth He punish the withholder thereof.”

B. I dare not say so.

A. It is therefore necessary that either the honour abstracted shall be restored, or punishment shall follow ; otherwise, God were either unjust to Himself, or were powerless for either, which it is a shame even to imagine.

B. I perceive that nothing can be more reasonably argued.

CHAPTER XIV.

IN WHAT WAY THE PUNISHMENT OF THE SINNER
GIVES HONOUR TO GOD.

B. **B**UT I should like to learn from you whether the sinner's punishment gives God honour, or how it can be any honour to God. For if the sinner's punishment redound not to God's honour, when the sinner pays not what he owed, but is punished, God loses His honour irretrievably, which appears contrary to what has been said.

A. It is impossible that God should lose the honour due to Him; either the sinner freely pays what he owes, or God receives it from an unwilling giver. For either man spontaneously of his own free will yields due submission to God (whether by not sinning, or by satisfying for his sin), or God subjects him unwillingly by compulsion, and thus declares Himself to be his Lord, which no man himself refuses willingly to own. Wherein it is to be noticed that as man by sin takes what belongs to God, so God in punishing takes away that which is man's own. For not only that which he already possesses is said to belong to anyone, but that also which it is in his power to have. Since therefore man was so created as to be able to attain to bliss if he had not sinned, when, on account of sin, he is deprived of bliss and of all good, he repays of his own, however unwillingly, that which he took; because, granting that God does not transfer to the service of His convenience what He takes away, as a man does money from another, yet He does convert it to His own use in that it is used for His honour by the very fact that it *is* taken away. By taking it away He proves that the sinner and all the sinner possesses are subject to Himself.

CHAPTER XV.

WHETHER GOD WOULD SUFFER HIS HONOUR TO BE
PROFANED EVEN IN THE VERY LEAST.

B. **A**GREED. But there is yet something more to which I demand your reply. For if God, as you prove, ought to protect His own honour, why doth He suffer it to be profaned, even be it ever so little? For that which is suffered to be injured in any way is not entirely, perfectly, guarded.

A. It is not possible for anything to add to or to diminish the honour of God, in so far as it appertains to Himself. For that same honour of His is incorruptible, and in no way mutable. But when any creature follows its own course, as it were, marked out for it, whether in the natural or rational order, it is said to obey God and to honour Him; and this applies chiefly to that creature rational by nature, to whom it is given to understand that which it ought to do. When this creature wills what he should, he honours God; not because he gives God anything, but because he freely yields himself to the will and decision of God, and preserves as far as in him lies his place in the universal order, and the beauty of that universe. But when he does not will what he ought, he dishonours God, so far as in him lies, since he submits not himself freely to God's direction, and, as far as he can, perturbs the order and beauty of the universe, even though he in no way can injure or lower the power or dignity of God. Now, if those things which are enclosed in the circle of the sky were to wish not to be beneath the sky, or to get away from under the sky, they could by no means get anywhere but under the sky, nor fly from the sky,

save by approaching it. For wherever, whence, and whither they might go, they would be under the sky, and the more they removed from one part thereof, the more they would approach to the other part. Therefore, should any man or bad angel be unwilling to be subject to the divine will and rule, yet he cannot escape from it; for, trying to flee from under the Will that commands, he rushes under the Will that punishes. And if you ask by what road he passes? it is but under the permissive Will; and his perverse will and action even are turned aside by the highest Wisdom into the pre-ordained order and symmetry of the universe. That spontaneous satisfaction for perversity, or that exaction of penalty from one refusing satisfaction (this excepted, that God brings good out of evil in many ways), have their own place, and a beauty of order in the same universe. If Divine Wisdom did not add this when perversity attempts to disturb the regular order of things, there would be caused in that universe, which God should rule, a certain deformity from this violated symmetry of its order, and God would seem to fail in His government. Which two consequences, being inconsistencies, are therefore impossibilities, and hence it is necessary that all sin be followed by satisfaction or penalty.

B. You have satisfied my objection.

A. Therefore it is clearly shown that God, considered in Himself, can be honoured or dishonoured by no one; but as far as in him lies anyone seems to do this when he yields his will to God, or withdraws from Him.

B. I don't know what I could say against that.

A. I will add something more.

B. Speak on, until I become weary of listening.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REASON WHY FROM AMONG MANKIND MUST BE REPLACED THE NUMBER OF ANGELS WHO FELL.

A. IT is certain that God proposed to replace the number of angels who had fallen from that humanity which He had created sinless.

B. We believe this ; but I should like to have some reason for it.

A. You mistake me ; we only proposed to treat of the Incarnation of God ; and you are interposing other questions.

B. Be not angry, "for God loveth a cheerful giver ;" now no one more clearly proves himself to be giving cheerfully than he who gives more than he promised ; tell me, therefore, freely what I ask.

A. It cannot be doubted but that the rational nature which either is blessed, or to be blessed, with the contemplation of God, was foreknown by God to consist in a certain right and perfect number of individuals, so that this number may not rightly be either more or less. For either God knoweth not of what number they should consist, which is false, or, He fixes it at that number which He sees to be most suitable. Wherefore those angels who fell were either made for the purpose of being of that number, or, because being beyond the number, they could not persevere, they of necessity fell, which it is absurd to suppose.

B. What you say is a plain truth.

A. Wherefore, then, since they were to be so many in number, either that number is to be made up as a matter of necessity, or that rational nature will exist in

an imperfect number of individuals, which was fore-known to be in a perfect one : which cannot be.

B. Doubtless they must be replaced.

A. Then it is necessary they should be replaced from humanity, since there is no other nature whence they can be replaced.

CHAPTER XVII.

THAT OTHER ANGELS COULD NOT BE PUT IN THE PLACE OF THOSE.

B. **W**HY could not they be restored, or other angels put in their place ?

A. When you see the difficulty of our reconciliation, you will understand the impossibility of their restoration. But other angels cannot be put in their place for this reason (to be silent as to how this seems contrary to the perfection of the first creation), because they ought not to be put there unless they could be such as those would have been had they not sinned, since they would have persevered without any knowledge of a punishment for sin ; which, after their fall, would be impossible for others, who should be put in their place. For they are not equally praiseworthy who, the one knowing naught of a punishment for sin, and the other always considering it as eternal, both stand firm in the truth. For it is never to be thought that the good angels were strengthened by the fall of the bad, but rather by their own merits. For exactly as if the good had sinned with the bad, they would have been condemned together ; so the wicked, had they stood firm with the good, would have been equally strengthened. In fact, if some of them were not to have been made firm except by the fall of others, either none would ever

have been established, or the fall of some one, who would be punished for the strengthening of the others, was necessary; both which are absurd. Those, therefore, who stood firm were established in the same way in which all would equally have been established had they stood firm; as I showed, as well as I could, where I discussed the question as to why God did not give the devil perseverance.

B. You have proved that the wicked angels must be replaced by humanity; and it is plain, on this account, that the elect of mankind will not be fewer in number than are the condemned angels. But whether they will be more, show, if you can.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WHETHER THE SAINTS WILL BE MORE IN NUMBER THAN ARE THE LOST ANGELS.

A. **I**F the angels, before some of them fell, were perfect in what we spoke of, *i.e.*, number, men were made but to replace the lost angels; and the answer is clear, that the saints will not be more than are those. But if that number did not consist in all those angels, it has to be completed from mankind; both the number that perished and the number that before were wanting will have to be furnished by humanity, and the saints will be more than the false angels; and thus we will say that mankind was not created only to replace the diminished, but also to perfect the uncompleted number.

B. Which is the rather to be held?—that the angels were at the first created perfect in number, or not?

A. I will tell you how it appears to me.

B. I can require no more of you than that.

A. If man was created after the fall of the evil angels, as some understand from Genesis, I do not see how by this I can understand either alternative fully. But it may (as I think) be, that the angels were at first perfect in number, and that man was created afterwards in order to replenish their diminished number; and it may be that they were not perfect in number, because God deferred, as He still defers, filling up that number, being about to make humanity in His own good time. Whence He would, in this way alone, either perfect the number which was not yet completed, or, even if it were diminished, restore it. But if the whole creation were made at once, and those "days" wherein Moses appears to say this world was made not all at once, are to be understood differently from the days as we now see them, in the which we live, I am unable to understand how the angels were made in that perfect number. For had it been thus, it seems to me that either some men or some angels would have been destined to fall of necessity, else would there have been more in that celestial kingdom than the symmetry of that perfect number would require. If, therefore, all things were made at once, the angels and the first human beings would seem to have been imperfect in number in this way, that from humanity should no angel fall, the number wanting would merely be supplied, and should any perish, that which had fallen should be replaced. And God might, so to speak, excuse human nature, which was the weaker, and confound the devil should he impute his fall to the weakness of his nature when the weaker had stood firm; and, if this latter did fall, much more would God defend it against the devil and against itself, when it, created much the weaker, and mortal, should ascend in the elect so much the higher than thither whence the devil had fallen, as the good

angels, equality with whom was due to it, had risen after the downfall of the bad, they having persevered. From these reasonings it rather seems to me most probable that the angels were not of that perfect number wherein should be completed that celestial kingdom: for if man were created at the same time as the angels, this were possible; and if both were created together (as is much the most commonly thought, seeing that it is written, "*qui vivit in eternum, creavit omnia simul*"), it appears to be necessary. But if the perfection of the created universe is not to be understood as consisting so much in the number of individuals as in the number of natures, it becomes necessary to look upon human nature as created either as the complement of that perfection, or as being superfluous, which we dare not assert of the nature of the very least little worm. Wherefore, it is made for itself, and not only for replacing individuals of another nature. Whence it is plain that even had no single angel fallen, mankind would have had their place in the celestial kingdom. It follows also, that of the angels, before any of them fell, there was not that perfect number; otherwise it was necessary that either men or some angels should fall, since beyond the perfect number not one could remain there.

B. You have certainly proved something.

A. There is yet another reason, as it appears to me, which not a little favours that opinion which holds that the angels were not made perfect in number.

B. Express it.

A. If the angels were made in that perfect number, and man were made for no other purpose but to replace the lost angels, it is clear that unless some angels had fallen from that blessedness, men could not rise to it.

B. That is certain.

A. But if any would or should say, that the elect of

mankind will rejoice as much at the perdition the angels as they will in their own beatification, since doubtless the latter would not have been, without the former: how could they be defended from the accusation of this perverted rejoicing? or how can we say that the angels who fell can be replaced from mankind, if it be true that had those not fallen, these would have remained without that fault, that is, without rejoicing at the fall of others? but that without that fault these could not be beatified? For, on the contrary, how can they be beatified with this imperfection? Therefore, by what boldness shall we assert that God either would or could not effect this restoration without that defect?

B. Is it not like the case of the Gentiles, who were called to the faith because the Jews rejected it?

A. No; for if all the Jews had believed, yet would the Gentiles have been called in, since "in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted in Him." But since the Jews contemned the Apostles, that was the occasion of their turning to the Gentiles.

B. I see no way by which I can oppose this.

A. Whence, think you, can arise that strange joy in another's fall?

B. Whence, save that each and every one will be sure that where he is he nowise could be, had not another fallen from thence.

A. Then, if no one possessed this certitude, there would be naught wherefore any should rejoice at the loss of another?

B. So it would appear.

A. You do not think anyone of them would have this conviction, if they should be far more in number than those who fell?

B. In no way can I think they would have, or ought

to have, this certitude. For how could anyone know whether it were for the restoration of what was diminished, or for the completion of that which was not yet perfect, that he was made one of that number constituting the kingdom? But all will be certain that they were made for the perfecting of that state.

A. Therefore, if they are more in number than the wicked angels, no one could know, or ought to know, that he was included in that number only on account of the fall of another.

B. It is true.

A. Therefore, no one will have any occasion wherefore he should rejoice over the perdition of another.

B. This also follows.

A. Since, therefore, we may perceive that if the number of elect among mankind were to be greater than that of the wicked angels, there would not ensue that incongruity, which necessarily must follow if the number were not greater; and since it is impossible that there should be any incongruity in that kingdom, it seems to be necessary that the angels were not made perfect in number, and that the glorified ones from among mankind will be more numerous than the unhappy angels.

B. I see not any reason for denying this.

A. I think that another reason may be given for the same opinion.

B. You ought to express that also.

A. We believe that this bodily frame of the world shall be made new again, and that, for the better; and that this shall neither take place until the number of the elect among mankind shall be completed and that blessed kingdom be perfected, nor be postponed after its perfection is attained. Whence it may be deduced that God had from the beginning proposed to accom-

plish both together; so that the lower nature which could not perceive God, should by no means be perfected before the higher which was to enjoy God; and being changed for the better should rejoice, as it were, in its own way in the perfection of the greater; so that every creature exulting in its Creator and itself over its so glorious and wondrous consummation, shall, each after its own manner, eternally rejoice together, seeing that what the will freely does in the rational creature, that the inanimate creation may show forth naturally by the ordinance of God. For we are in the habit of rejoicing together at the exaltation of our ancestors, as when on the birthdays of the Saints we delight ourselves with festive exultation, being joyful because of their glory. Which opinion seems to be further supported by this: that had not Adam sinned, God would yet defer to perfect that kingdom until the number which He required being completed from among men, those very men should be transfigured as to their bodies with (if I may so speak) immortal immortality. Certainly they had in paradise a kind of immortality, that is, the power of *not* dying; but that capability was not undying, since man was able to die, whereas it is manifest these blessed ones cannot die. But if it be thus, namely, that God from the beginning had designed to bring that rational and blessed kingdom and this terrene irrational world to perfection together, it would seem either that that kingdom was not complete in the number of angels before the fall of the bad, but that God was waiting for it to be completed when the material substance of the world should be changed for the better; or, that if it were perfect in number, it was not perfect in security, and that its establishment was to be deferred, even though not one among the number had sinned, until that renewal of

the world for which we look ; or, that if that ratification were not to be put off longer, the terrestrial transformation was to be hastened, that that confirmation might take place with it. But to say that God should have resolved at once to renew the world recently created, and to destroy those things which will not exist after that renewal, in their very beginning, before it had yet appeared why they had been made, is totally unreasonable. It follows, therefore, that the angels were not of that perfection in number as that their confirmation might not long be deferred, wherefore the renewal of the world would have to take place at once, which would not have been fitting. But then again, that God should have willed to postpone that same confirmation of the angels until the future renovation of the world seems inconsistent, especially as He had effected it so quickly in some of them ; and as it might be thought, when the first human beings sinned, that had they not sinned, He would have done the same for them as He did for the angels who persevered. For although they might not have been raised to that equality with angels to which men were to attain when the number of those who were to be exalted had been completed, it yet appears that had they conquered in that righteousness wherein they were, so as not to have fallen when tempted, they, with all their posterity, would have been so established as for the future to be unable to sin : in like manner as, since being overcome, they did sin, they were so weakened as that, so far as in themselves lies, they cannot be free from sin. For who would dare to say that sin should have more power to bind in slavery man consenting to it on the first persuasion, than righteousness would have had to confirm him in liberty, had he adhered to righteousness in that same temptation ? For in like manner as, since the whole human race was

in the first parents, it all was vanquished in them, so as to be prone to sin (except that one Man, whom God, as He knew how to form Him of a virgin without seed of man, so knew how to keep Him apart from the sin of Adam), so in them would the whole race have conquered had they not sinned. Therefore there remains only this opinion: that the heavenly kingdom was not completed in that first number of angels, but was to be filled up from among mankind. Which being granted, it will follow that greater will be the number of the elect of mankind than was that of the fallen angels.

B. What you say appears to me very reasonable; but how shall we explain what we read of God, "He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel"? (Deut. xxxii. 8), which, since by "children of Israel" is understood "angels of God," is interpreted to mean that according to the number of good angels we may reckon the number of elect human beings.

A. This is not contrary to the previously expressed opinion, if it be not certain that as many angels fell as remained firm. For if the elect angels be more in number than the reprobate, and it be necessary that the elect of mankind should replace the fallen angels, it might happen that the good angels were equal in number to the saints, and thus the just men would be more in number than the fallen angels. But remember the condition under which I began to answer your question, *i.e.*, that should I say anything which a higher authority does not confirm, it shall not (although it should appear to be reasonably proved) be received with any greater certitude than that so it appears to me in the meantime, until God shall reveal to me better in some way. For of this I am sure, that if I say anything which Holy Scripture undoubtedly contradicts, it is

false; nor will I hold to it, when I am once aware thereof. But if in those questions thereon various opinions may be held without danger, such as the one which we are now discussing (for if we know not whether more men are to be saved than angels were lost, or not, and think there may be more of one than of the other, I do not think there is here any spiritual danger)—if, I say, in questions of this kind we so expound the divine sayings as that they may appear to favour various opinions, and there is nowhere discovered anything which shall decide what ought indubitably to be held, I do not consider I ought to be blamed. But that which you quoted, “He set the bounds of the people,” or “nations,” “according to the number of the angels of God,” which in another translation reads, “according to the numbers of the children of Israel:” since both translations signify either the same, or differing yet unopposed assertions, it is to be understood, as, that by “angels of God” and by “children of Israel” are meant good angels only, or elect men only, or angels and also elect men, that is, the whole of that celestial kingdom. Either by “angels of God” holy angels only, and by “children of Israel” only justified men, or only angels by “children of Israel,” and only justified men by “angels of God.” If good angels only are signified by both, it is the same as if “angels of God” only were meant; but if the whole celestial kingdom is meant, then this is the sense: that “the nations,” *i.e.*, the multitude of the elect among mankind, shall continue to be adopted, or that the nations shall exist in this world, until, from among predestined human beings, the number of those citizens, as yet imperfect, shall be completed. But I do not see why only angels, or angels and holy men together, are to be understood by “children of Israel.” It is not

strange to call saints "children of Israel" or "sons of Abraham," who may rightly be called also angels of God, because they imitate the angelic life, and likeness and equality to the angels are promised to them in heaven; and since all who live righteously are angels of God. Whence also they are called confessors or martyrs; but he who confesses and bears witness to the truth is a messenger of God—that is, an angel. And if a bad man be called a devil, as God saith of Judah, because of the resemblance in malignity, why may not a good man be also called an angel on account of his imitation of angelic uprightness? Therefore we may, as I think, say that God "set the limits of the people according to the number" of the elect among mankind, since the nations will exist, and there will continue to be multiplication of human beings in this world until the number of those same elect men shall be completed; and that being filled up, the generation of men into this life will cease. But if by "angels of God" we understand only holy angels, and by "children of Israel" just men only, it may be understood in two ways—namely, that God "set the limits of the nations according to the number of the angels of God," either because so much people, that is, so many human beings, shall be adopted as there are holy angels of God, or because the nations shall endure until the number of the angels of God shall be completed from among men. As far as I can see, this can be explained in one way only: "He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel," that is, because (as was said above) nations shall endure so long in this world until the number of the saints shall be completed. And from either interpretation it is concluded that as many men will be admitted as there remained angels. Whence, however, it does not follow although the fallen angels

are to be replaced from among men that as many angels fell as persevered. Should, however, this be still asserted : yet, however, those arguments laid down above may be estimated, it will still be found that they seem to show that the angels, before any one of them fell, were not of a certain perfect number, as I said before, and that more men are to be saved than there are bad angels.

B. I do not regret having obliged you to say these things about the angels, for it has not been done in vain. Now, return to that from which we digressed.

CHAPTER XIX.

THAT MANKIND CANNOT BE SAVED WITHOUT SATISFACTION FOR SIN.

A. **I**T is well known that God determined to replace the angels who had fallen, from the ranks of humanity.

B. It is certain.

A. Men ought, then, to be such in that celestial kingdom, being taken into it instead of angels, as those were to have been in whose place they are, that is, they ought to be like the good angels ; otherwise, they who fell will not have been replaced, and it would follow that God either could not bring to perfection the good which He began, or will have repented of having begun so great a good ; which suppositions are both absurd.

B. Truly it behoves men to be equal to the good angels.

A. Think you the good angels ever sinned ?

B. No.

A. Can you think that a man who has sometimes sinned, nor ever made reparation to God for his sin,

but only been forgiven unpunished, can be equal to an angel who has never sinned?

B. I may conceive and express these words: but I can no more think the opinion they enshrine, than I can understand falsehood to be truth.

A. It is therefore not consistent with God to take sinful man without reparation made, in place of the fallen angels; for truth will not endure his being raised to an equality with the good.

B. The argument makes this plain.

A. Then (not taking into consideration that he is to be equal to the angels), consider man by himself, whether God ought to advance him to that bliss, or to such as he had before he sinned.

B. Say you what strikes you, and I will discuss it as well as I can.

A. Let us suppose a rich man holding in his hand a precious pearl, which no pollution has ever touched, and which no other can take out of his hand unless he allows this; and that he is intending to lay it up in his treasury, where are his dearest and most precious possessions.

B. I am thinking of it as though it were a reality.

A. What if he suffers that same pearl to be jerked by some envious person out of his hand into the mud, when he might prevent this; and then, picking it out of the mud, puts it away dirty, unwashed, into some clean and special repository, meaning to keep it thus in future? Think you he is wise?

B. How can I think so, for would it not be much better were he to hold and keep his pearl clean, than dirty?

A. And would not God do likewise, He who was keeping man without sin, equal to angels in paradise, as in His own grasp, and permitted that the devil, inflamed with envy, should cast him (he indeed consenting) into

the mire of sin ? Would not God, I say, act in likewise, were He to take back man, stained with the pollution of sin, uncleansed, that is, without any satisfaction, into paradise again, whence he had been ejected ?

B. The resemblance, were God to do this, I dare not deny ; and, therefore, I do not assert that He can do so. But it would appear that He either had not been able to carry out what He had proposed, or that He had repented of His good intention : neither of which alternatives can be predicated of God.

A. Therefore hold thou most firmly, that without satisfaction—that is, without the spontaneous payment of the debt—neither can God release the sinner unpunished, nor the sinner attain to such bliss as he enjoyed before his sin ; not in that way could man be restored to what he was before sinning.

B. I cannot controvert your general argument. But what is this, which we say to God : “Forgive us our debts” ? and all nations pray to God, believing He will forgive their sins ? For if we have paid that which we owe, why do we pray for its remission ? Is God so unjust as to exact for the second time that which has been paid ? But if we have not paid, why pray we in vain that He will do that which, as it would be inconsistent, He cannot do ?

A. He who hath not paid saith in vain, “forgive ;” while he who hath paid, prays thus, because his supplication is itself a part of the payment ; for God owes nothing to anyone, every creature being His debtor, and therefore it is not well for man to act as equal towards equal. However, it is not needful to answer you now on this point ; when you understand why Christ died, perchance you will see for yourself that about which you now inquire.

B. For the present, what you have answered on this

point suffices me. For that no man can, in sin, attain to bliss, or be freed from sin, unless he restores that which, by sinning, he abstracted, you have so plainly proved, that I could not doubt, even did I wish to do so.

CHAPTER XX.

THAT THE SATISFACTION SHOULD BE PROPORTIONATE TO THE TRANSGRESSION, NOR CAN MAN MAKE IT FOR HIMSELF.

A. **N**OR will you, I think, doubt as to this also: that the amends must be in proportion to the offence.

B. Otherwise would sin remain in some measure unsubdued, which cannot be, if God leaves nothing independent in His kingdom. This, however, is taken for granted, since the smallest inconsistency is impossible to God.

A. Now tell me, what will you offer to God in satisfaction for your sin?

B. Penitence, a contrite and humbled heart, fastings, and many bodily labours, and mercy in giving and forgiving, and obedience.

A. In all these, what do you give to God?

B. Do I not honour God when, for fear and love of Him, in contrition of heart, I reject temporal happiness, tread under foot in fasting and toil the delights and peace of this life, am liberal in giving and remitting of my possessions and my dues, and subject myself to Him in obedience?

A. When you render to God something which you owe to Him, even had you not sinned, you should not set it against the debt which you owe on account of

your sin : now all these things which you have mentioned, you owe to God. For in this mortal life, so great should be the love and (to which belongeth prayer) the desire of attaining to that for which you were made, and the grief because you have not yet got so far, and the fear lest you never should attain to it, that you ought to feel no gladness save in those things which give you either help towards, or hope of, that attainment. For you cannot deserve to have that which you do not love and desire in proportion to what it is, and on account of which, because you have it not as yet, and still run so great a risk as to whether you will get it or not, you do not grieve. With which is also connected the fleeing from worldly peace and pleasures, which call the soul back from that true rest and pleasure, except in so far as you know they may aid you in reaching that after which you are straining. That giving you must also consider that you do as under an obligation, for you understand, that what you give you have not from yourself, but from Him whose servants are both you and him to whom you give : and nature teaches you to do to your fellow-servant, that is, one man to another, that which you would have another do to you ; and therefore he who will not give what he has, ought not to accept what he has not. As to forgiving, I say briefly that vengeance (as we said before) in no way can belong to you ; for neither are you your own, nor is he who injured you, yours or his own ; you are both servants of one God, made by Him out of nothing, and if you revenge yourself on your fellow-servant, you arrogantly assume over him a jurisdiction which belongs only to the God and Judge of all. Thus, in your obedience, what do you give to God which you do not owe to Him at whose call you are bound to render up all you are, all you have, and all you can do ?

B. Nothing of all these dare I assert that I give to God, since I owe them all to Him.

A. Then what will you offer to God in amends for your sin ?

B. If I owe to Him myself and all I am capable of, even if I sin not at all, I have nothing which I can give in amends for sin.

A. What will therefore become of you ? How can you be saved ?

B. When I consider your arguments, I see not how. But if I fall back upon my faith—in Christian faith, “which worketh by love”—I hope I may be saved ; and because we read, that if the wicked man shall turn away from his wickedness and do righteousness, all his wickedness shall be forgotten.

A. This is only said of those who either expected Christ before He came, or believe in Him now that He has come. But we assumed a position as though Christ had never been, nor the Christian faith ever existed, when we proposed to inquire by the light of reason alone whether His coming for the salvation of men were necessary.

B. We did so.

A. By reason alone let us therefore proceed.

B. Although you are leading me into some perplexity, yet I much desire that you would proceed as you have begun.

CHAPTER XXI.

WHAT IS THE GRAVITY OF SIN.

A. **L**ET us suppose that you do not owe all those things which you just now brought forward, and that you can therefore pay them in amends for sin ;

and then let us see whether they could suffice to make satisfaction for one sin, however small, when that one act is considered as opposed to the will of God.

B. Did I not hear you bring this forward as a question, I should consider that one movement of compunction would cleanse me from that sin.

A. You have not yet considered the exceeding gravity of sin.

B. Bring it sensibly home to me now.

A. If you found yourself in the presence of God, and some one said to you, "Look there;" and God said on the contrary, "I will that you on no account look;"—ask your own heart what there is among all things that are, for which you should against God's will give that look?

B. I can find nothing for the sake whereof I should do that; unless I happened to be placed in such a strait that I must needs commit, either that, or a greater sin.

A. Put aside that necessity, and consider this one sin only: whether you may commit it in order to save yourself.

B. I plainly see that I cannot.

A. Not to try you at too great length: how, if it were necessary, that either the whole world, and whatever is not God, should perish and return to nothingness, or that you should do so small an action against the will of God?

B. When I consider the action in itself, I see that it is a very slight one; but when I enter fully into what it is when done against the will of God, I see that it is something very serious, and above comparison with any loss whatsoever; but we sometimes act against the will of another, and that not reprehensibly, so that his interests are served, which afterwards pleases him against whose very will we did it.

A. This is done to a man who sometimes does not understand what is useful to himself, or cannot replace what he has lost ; but God has need of nothing, and as He has made all things, could, if they perished, replace them.

B. I am constrained to own, that not even in order to preserve all creation ought I to do anything against the will of God.

A. How, if there were many worlds full of created things, like this one ?

B. Were they multiplied to infinity, and displayed in likewise before me, I should answer precisely the same.

A. You can do nothing better ; but consider also, if it should happen that you did against God's will give that glance : what amends could you make for that sin ?

B. I have nothing greater than what I mentioned just now.

A. Thus gravely do we sin every time we knowingly do anything, however small, against the will of God : since we are ever in His sight, and He Himself always forbids us to sin.

B. By what I hear, we live in very great peril.

A. It is plain that God demands proportionate satisfaction.

B. I cannot deny it.

A. You do not therefore make amends unless you repay something greater than is that for which you ought not to have committed the sin.

B. I see, both that reason so requires, and also that it is altogether impossible.

A. And God cannot, because He should not raise to beatitude anyone who is to any extent a debtor for sin.

B. This decision is very grievous.

A. Now listen to another reason why it is not less difficult for man to be reconciled to God.

B. Unless faith consoled me, this alone would drive me to despair.

A. Still, hear me.

B. Speak on.

CHAPTER XXII.

HOW MAN INSULTED GOD WHEN HE LET HIMSELF BE CONQUERED BY THE DEVIL ; FOR WHICH HE CANNOT MAKE SATISFACTION.

A. **M**AN, created innocent and placed in paradise, was, as it were, stationed between God and the devil, that he might conquer the devil by not consenting to his persuasions to sin, for the vindication and honour of God, and to the confusion of the devil, had he, the weaker, on earth, not sinned when tempted by the same devil, who being the stronger had sinned, in heaven, without being tempted ; now, when man could easily have done this, he being coerced by no power, voluntarily suffered himself to be overcome by persuasion alone at the will of the devil and against the will and honour of God.

B. What are you aiming at ?

A. Point out yourself, whether it be not against the honour of God that man should be reconciled to Him after the scandal of this insult caused to God, unless he should first have honoured God by conquering the devil, in like manner as, being vanquished by the devil, he had dishonoured God. But the victory should be such that whereas when strong and immortal in power he consented easily to the devil and sinned, whence he justly incurred the penalty of mortality ; so when mortal and weak as he had made himself he should through the agony of death so conquer the devil as to be himself perfectly sinless ; which he cannot do so long

as by the wound of the first transgression he is conceived and born in sin.

B. I assert again both that reason proves what you say, and that this is impossible.

A. Yet further, grant one more thing, without which man may not justly be reconciled, and which is no less impossible.

B. You have already laid down for us so much we ought to do, that whatever you may add thereto cannot cause me further dread.

A. Listen, though.

B. I am attending.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WHAT MAN, BY SINNING, TAKES AWAY FROM GOD,
WHICH HE IS UNABLE TO REPAY.

A. **W**HAT did man take away from God, when he allowed himself to be conquered by the devil?

B. Do you answer that, for I know not what he could have added to those injuries which you have already declared.

A. Did he not deprive God of whatever He had proposed to make of human nature?

B. It cannot be denied.

A. Look at the matter in the light of strict justice, and judge according to that, whether man can make unto God an adequate satisfaction for sin, unless he restores by vanquishing the devil, that very same thing which he took from God by allowing the devil to conquer himself; so that, in the same manner as by his being vanquished, the devil seized, and God lost, that which belonged to God, now by this other fact of man's being victorious, the devil may lose, and God may regain His own.

B. Nothing more strictly logical or just can be imagined.

A. Do you think that the Just One could violate this justice?

B. I dare not think about it.

A. Therefore, by no man should or can man receive from God that which God intended to give him, unless he restores to God all which he took away from God ; so that, as God lost by him, so by him should God recover what was lost. Which cannot otherwise be done, except that as in the vanquished the entire nature of man was corrupted and as it were leavened by sin, in which God selects no one to fill up the number of that celestial kingdom, so by the victor as many men shall be justified from sin, as are needed to fulfil that number for the completion of which man was created. But in nowise could this be done by sinful man, since no sinner is able to justify another.

B. There can be nothing more just ; and there is nothing more impossible ; but from all this, both God's mercy and man's hope appear to perish, so far as regards that beatitude for which man was made.

A. Wait a little longer.

B. What more have you to say?

CHAPTER XXIV.

THAT SO LONG AS MAN REPAYS NOT TO GOD THAT WHICH HE OWES, HE CANNOT BE MADE BLESSED ; NOR IS HE EXCUSED BY HIS WANT OF ABILITY.

A. IF a man is called dishonest who does not pay another man what he owes him, much more is he wanting in integrity who does not repay to God what he owes to God.

B. If he can pay, and will not, certainly he is dishonest. But if he cannot, how is he dishonest?

A. Perchance if there be in himself no cause for that inability, it may be somewhat excused. But if there be faultiness in that very want of power, as it does not lighten the sin, so it does not excuse the failure to pay the debt. For if anyone sets his servant a task, and enjoins him not to throw himself into a pitfall which he points out to him, whence he could by no means get out again; and that servant, despising the command and warning of his master, casts himself of his own will into that pit which had been shown to him beforehand, so that he cannot possibly perform the enjoined task: you surely do not think that this helplessness would stand him in any stead as an excuse for not performing the appointed work?

B. In nowise; rather would it be reckoned as making the fault greater, since he himself caused that want of power. For he sinned doubly, since what he was bidden to do he performed not, and what was forbidden to him, that he did.

A. Thus man, who of his own free will incurred that debt which he cannot pay, and by his own fault cast himself into that state of powerlessness wherein he can neither pay what he owed before the fall—that is, to keep from sin—nor that which he now owes because he sinned, is inexcusable. For that powerlessness is guilt, since he ought not to have it, rather ought to be without it; for as it is wrong not to have that which we ought to have, so is it wrong to have that which we ought to be without. Therefore, as it is man's fault that he has not that power which he received whereby to avoid sin, so is he guilty in being so helpless that he can neither hold to right and avoid sin, nor can repay that which he owes on account of sin. For he did

willingly that whereby he lost that power, and fell into that state of helplessness. It is the same thing to be without the power he ought to have as to be helpless as he should not be. Wherefore want of power to repay to God what is due to Him, which impotence causes man not to repay it, does not excuse his failure therein ; for its being the effect of sin, does not excuse the sin which he commits.

B. Very grievous^r this, yet necessarily true.

A. Guilty therefore is man who repays not to God that which he owes.

B. Most true ; for he is guilty of not repaying, and guilty because he cannot repay.

A. But no guilty man shall be admitted to blessedness ; since, as blessedness is perfection, to which nothing is wanting, so is it adapted to no one except those in whom righteousness is so perfect as to leave no room for error.

B. I dare not believe otherwise.

A. Therefore he who does not pay to God that which he owes could not be glorified.

B. I cannot deny this consequence.

A. If you mean to say that a merciful God remits to the suppliant that which he owes, because he cannot pay : this can only be called forgiveness either (1) of that which man ought freely to pay, and cannot, that is, what he should pay for sin which ought not to be committed even for the preservation of everything that is not God ; or (2) the remission of the punishment of taking from him against his will (as I said before) glory and blessedness. But if He remits that which man ought of free will to repay, just because man cannot repay it, what else is this but that God remits that which He could not get ? It is mockery to attribute to God mercy such as this. But if He omits to deprive

the debtor of that which was to be taken away against the debtor's will, on account of his powerlessness to repay that which he ought of free will to have rendered, God takes away the penalty, and makes man blessed on account of guilt which he owns and ought not to have. For he ought not to be thus helpless, and so long as he is so without having made reparation therefor, it is his guilt; but this kind of mercy from God is exceedingly contrary to His justice, which suffers nought to be repaid on account of sin but its penalty. Wherefore, as God cannot contradict Himself, so is it impossible for Him to be merciful after this fashion.

B. I perceive we must ask of God some mercy other than this.

A. Suppose this to be true, namely, that God forgives him who does not pay his debt for the reason that he cannot.

B. I would it were so.

A. But so long as he does not pay, either he cannot, or he will not. If he will, but cannot, he is insolvent; but if he will not, he is dishonest.

B. Nothing can be clearer than this.

A. But whether he be powerless, or rebellious, he will not be glorified.

B. This also is plain.

A. Therefore, so long as he does not repay, he cannot be glorified.

B. If God follows the logic of justice, there is no way by which wretched man may escape; and God's mercy seems to vanish.

A. You asked for logical proof; accept it now. I do not deny the mercy of God, who saves men and cattle "according to the multitude of His mercy." But we are speaking about that final mercy which beatifies men after this life: that this beatitude ought to be

given to no one except to him whose sins are utterly pardoned, nor this pardon be granted unless the debt be paid which is due for sin according to the greatness of the transgression, I think I have sufficiently proved by the arguments just brought forward. If you think you can oppose anything to these arguments you ought to express it.

B. I see that I cannot weaken any of your arguments in the least.

A. Nor do I think you can, if they are thoroughly weighed; and yet, if but one of all those which I laid down shall stand firm in unconquerable verity, it ought to be enough. For whether truth be proved irrefragably by one, or by several, arguments, it is equally secured from all uncertainty.

B. Thus, it is proved to be so. How, then, shall man be saved, if he neither pays what he owes, nor ought to be saved unless he pays? or with what assurance dare we say that God, rich in mercy beyond man's understanding, cannot cause this misery?

A. You should require this at their hands in whose name you speak (who do not believe Christ to be needful to man's salvation): let them say how man can be saved without Christ. Which if they can in nowise prove, let them cease from ridiculing us, come over and join themselves to us who doubt not but that man can be saved by Christ, or let them despair of this being in any way possible. From which, if they shrink, let them with us believe in Christ, that they may be saved.

B. I will ask you, as I began by doing, to explain to me the reason why mankind can be saved by Christ.

CHAPTER XXV.

THAT OF NECESSITY BY CHRIST SHALL MANKIND
BE SAVED.

A. **I**S it not sufficiently proved that man can be saved by Christ, when even unbelievers deny not that man by some means may be made blessed, and it has been fully proved, that if we suppose Christ never to have come, man's salvation could in nowise be procured? For man might be saved either by Christ, or in some other way, or by no means: wherefore if it be false that in no way, or that in any other way this can be, it follows that it must of necessity be through Christ.

B. If anyone, seeing the proof that it cannot be in any other way, and not understanding the reason why it can be through Christ, should assert that it can be done neither through Christ nor in any way: what answer shall we give Him?

A. Why answer one who ascribes impossibility to that which it is necessary should be, because he knows not *how* it should be?

B. Because he is foolish.

A. Therefore what he says should be passed over with contempt.

B. True; but what has to be shown him is, the reason why that should be, which he thinks impossible.

A. Do you not understand from what we have already said, that it is needful some human beings should attain to beatitude? For if it be inconsistent with God to advance man with any defect to that for which He created him without fault, lest God should seem either to repent of the good begun, or be unable to carry out His intention: much more on account of that same inconsistency is it impossible to advance no

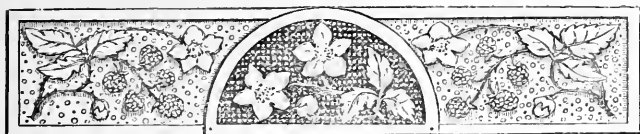
human being at all to that for which he was created. Wherefore, either outside the Christian faith is to be discovered a satisfaction for sin such as we have already shown it ought to be (which no argument whatever will be able to prove), or, that faith ought firmly to be believed in. But that which is by strict proof shown veritably to exist, ought not to be placed in any doubtful light, even though the reason of its existence be not perceived.

B. What you say is quite true.

A. Then what more do you ask ?

B. I do not apply to you to remove any uncertainty in my faith ; but that you may show me the reason of my certitude. Wherefore as you have by reasoning led me to the point whence I can see that man, a sinner, owes to God for his sin that which he cannot pay, and that without paying it he cannot be saved ; so I want you to lead me to that point whence I may perceive all those things to be logically necessary, which the Catholic Church bids us believe if we will to be saved ; both what avails to the salvation of man, and how God of His mercy saves man, since He doth not forgive him his sin unless man have repaid what he owed therefor. And that your arguments may be the more effectual, begin so far back as that you may build them upon a sure foundation.

A. May God now aid me ! for you do not spare me at all, nor consider the ignorance of my knowledge, when you assign to me sô great a task. I will try, however, since I have begun, trusting not in myself, but in God, and I will do what I can, with His aid. But lest by too long continuance weariness should be caused to anyone desiring to peruse this, let us divide what has been said from what we are going to say, by making a fresh introduction.



BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

HOW MAN WAS BY GOD CREATED UPRIGHT, THAT HE
MIGHT BE BLESSED IN THE ENJOYMENT OF GOD.

A. **I**T is indubitable that the rational nature was by God created upright, that it might be blessed in the enjoyment of God. For it is therefore rational, that it may discern between just and unjust, between good and bad, between a greater good and a lesser good; otherwise would it have been in vain created rational. But God did not create it rational without a purpose; therefore, it is not doubtful that it was made rational for this very end. By a like argument may be proved that for this it received the power of discernment, that it might hate and avoid evil, and might love and choose good, and might love most the greatest good, and choose that. For otherwise God would have given it that power of discerning to no purpose, since the power of discrimination would be useless did it not love and avoid according to its discernment. But it would not be consistent in God to have given so much capacity to no purpose. Therefore the rational creature is most certainly made for this, that it should love and choose before all else the highest good, not on account

of anything else, but for itself ; seeing that if it love for the sake of aught else, it loves not that highest good, but something else. But for this it can do nothing but what is right. That therefore it may not be rational to no purpose, it is made both rational and upright for the same end. For if it be made upright to choose and love the highest good, either it is so created as that it may sometimes follow what it would love and choose, or not. But if it be not so created upright as that it may follow that which it thus loves and chooses, in vain is it so created as to love and choose it thus ; nor will there be any reason why it should ever follow it. So long, therefore, as it should act uprightly by loving and choosing the highest good, for which it was made, it would be wretched, since it would be destitute against its will, not having what it desires, which is most absurd. Wherefore the rational nature was made upright that it might be beatified by the enjoyment of the highest good—that is, God ; and hence man, who is rational by nature, was made upright for this end :—that he might be blessed in the enjoyment of God.

CHAPTER II.

THAT MAN WOULD NOT HAVE DIED, HAD HE NOT
SINNED.

A. **T**HAT also he was so created as that he was not under the necessity of dying, may hence be easily proved, since, as we said before, it is contrary to the wisdom and justice of God that He should compel man, whom He made upright for everlasting happiness, to suffer death for no fault. It follows, therefore, that had man never sinned, he never would have died.

CHAPTER III.

THAT MAN WILL RISE AGAIN WITH THE BODY IN
WHICH HE LIVES HERE.

A. **WHENCE** is sometimes clearly proved the future resurrection of the dead. For if man is to be perfectly restored, he ought to be re-made again exactly as he was to have been had he not sinned.

B. It cannot be otherwise.

A. Therefore in like manner as, if man had not sinned, he would have been transformed into incorruptibility in that very body which he wore, so it would follow that when he is restored he shall be transformed with his body wherein he spent this life.

B. What shall we answer should any say that this ought certainly to be done in the case of those in whom the human race shall be restored, but that in the case of the lost it does not follow?

A. Nothing can be conceived more just or more consistent than that as man, had he persevered in uprightness, would have been completely (*i.e.*, in soul and body) blessed, so, if he persevere in error, shall he be completely miserable.

B. In a few words you have satisfied me on these points.

CHAPTER IV.

THAT GOD WILL CARRY OUT IN HUMAN NATURE
THAT WHICH HE DESIGNED.

A. **HENCE** it is easy to perceive, that either God will perfect in human nature that which He began, or He made so exalted a nature for so great

good, in vain. But if it be acknowledged that God has made nothing more precious than a rational nature formed to rejoice in Him, it is very unlike Him to suffer that nature to perish utterly.

B. No heart informed by reason could think otherwise.

A. Thus it is needful that He should complete what He designed in human nature ; but, as we said before, He cannot do this except through an entire satisfaction for sin, which no sinner can make.

B. I understand it to be certainly necessary for God to carry out what He designed, lest He should appear to give up His intention in a manner inconsistent with Himself.

CHAPTER V.

THAT ALTHOUGH THIS BE NECESSARY, YET GOD DOETH IT NOT OF NECESSITY ; AND WHAT THAT NECESSITY IS WHICH TAKES AWAY OR DIMINISHES A BENEFIT, AND ALSO WHAT THAT NECESSITY IS WHICH MAKES THE KINDNESS GREATER.

B. **B**UT if it be thus, it seems almost as if God were obliged of necessity to avoid inconsistency, that he might obtain the salvation of the human race. How then can it be denied that He doth this more on His own account than on ours ? But if it be so, what gratitude do we owe Him for that which on His own account He doeth ? And how shall we impute our salvation to His free grace if He saves us of necessity ?

A. There is a necessity which takes away or lessens the gratitude due to the benefactor, and there is another necessity, whence deeper gratitude is due for the benefit. For when anyone benefits another from necessity to

which he is unwillingly subject, to him either no gratitude, or much less, is due. But if he voluntarily lays himself under the necessity of doing this benefit, nor endures it unwillingly, then he deserves, as it were, greater gratitude for the benefit. For this is not called necessity, but kindness, since not under any compulsion, but freely, did he undertake to fulfil it. For if you shall willingly give to-morrow that which to-day you freely promise to give on the next day, however necessarily it may follow that you must either redeem your promise to-morrow if you can, or forfeit your word, yet notwithstanding, he to whom you give owes no less for the kind benefit than if you had not promised, since you are not forced to make yourself his debtor before the time of giving. It is the same when anyone freely vows to live the life of counsels. For although he must of necessity keep that vow, lest he should incur the condemnation of an apostate, and granting that he may be compelled to keep it even if unwilling, yet still if he keepeth not unwillingly that which he vowed, he is not less, but more, acceptable to God than if he had not vowed, since he hath denied himself for the sake of God not only ordinary life, but also his own freedom; nor can he be said to be leading that strict life from necessity, but in that same liberty wherein he made the vow. Whence much more if God does to man a good which He promised, granted that it behoveth Him not to go aside from that promised benefit, yet we ought to impute it all to grace, since He undertook it on our account, not on His own, and without compulsion from any. For it was not hidden from Him when He made man what man would do; and yet by creating man He freely, of His own bounty as it were, bound Himself to complete the benefit begun. Finally, God doth nothing of necessity, since in nowise is He compelled or for-

bidden to do anything. And when we say that God doth anything as by a necessity of avoiding inconsistency; since He feareth it not, this is rather to be understood as that He does it by the necessity of preserving integrity; which necessity is nothing else than His own immutable integrity, which He hath from Himself, and not from another; and therefore it is but improperly called necessity. Let us say then, that it is necessary that the goodness of God, on account of His own unchangeableness, should perfect in man what He began, although all the benefits He bestows are of free grace.

B. I grant it.

CHAPTER VI.

THAT THE SATISFACTION WHEREBY MAN CAN BE
SAVED CAN BE EFFECTED ONLY BY ONE WHO IS
GOD AND MAN.

A. **B**UT it is not possible that this should be, unless there be some one who can repay to God for the sin of man somewhat which is greater than all which is not God.

B. This is certain.

A. Also, he who of his own should be able to give to God anything which might surpass all that is below God, must needs be greater than all which is not God.

B. I cannot contradict it.

A. But nothing exists which is above all that is not God, save God.

B. It is true.

A. None therefore but God can make this reparation.

B. Thus it follows.

A. Yet, none should make it save a man, otherwise man does not make amends.

B. Nothing would seem more exactly just.

A. If, then, it be necessary (as we have ascertained) that the celestial citizenship is to be completed from among men, and that this cannot be unless there be made that before-mentioned satisfaction, which God only can, and man only should, make, it is needful that it should be made by one who is both God and man.

B. Blessed be God! we have now discovered a great part of that of which we are in quest; therefore go on as you have begun. But I hope that God will help us.

A. We have now to investigate how God could be made man.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT IT IS NECESSARY THAT SOME PERSON SHOULD
BE PERFECT GOD AND PERFECT MAN.

A. **B**UT the divine and the human natures cannot be so mutually interchanged as that the divine shall become human and the human divine; nor so intermingled as that out of two shall be made a kind of third, which shall be neither altogether divine nor altogether human. In fine, if it could be, that each should be changed into the other, there would either be only God and no man, or only a man and not God. Or if they could be so mingled as that out of two natures, both altered, a certain other third might arise (as of two individual animals, masculine and feminine, of different species, is born a third, which inherits the whole nature of neither father nor mother, but a third made up of both), this person would neither be God nor man. Therefore the God-man whom we are seeking cannot be made either

by the conversion of one into the other, or by the commixture of both into a third, defacing both—for either were impossible ; and even if possible, either result would be useless for the object of our search. But in whatever way these two perfect natures be said to be joined, if it be still so as that God is not the same as man, it is impossible that both should do what is necessary to be done. For God will not do it, because He ought not, and man will not, because he cannot ; therefore that God and man may do this, it is needful that the same person shall be perfect God and perfect man, who shall make this satisfaction ; since he cannot do it unless he be very God, nor ought, unless he be very man. Thence, since it is necessary, preserving the entirety of either nature, that a God-man should be found, no less needful is it that these two natures should meet in one person, as the body and the reasonable soul meet in one being : which can be done in no other way but that the same person should be perfect God and perfect man.

B. I agree with all you say.

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT IT BEHOVED GOD TO ASSUME HUMANITY FROM THE RACE OF ADAM AND FROM A WOMAN, A VIRGIN.

A. **T**HERE now remains, to inquire whence and how God would assume human nature. For either He will assume it from Adam, or He will create a new man, in likewise as He made Adam from no other human being. But if He shall create a new man not of the race of Adam, he will not belong to the human race, which descends from Adam : wherefore this new man, not belonging to it, ought not to make satisfaction for

it. But as it is right that man should make reparation for the sin of man, therefore it is necessary that the one who makes satisfaction should be of the same race as the sinner ; otherwise neither Adam nor his race would really make reparation. Now since from Adam and Eve sin was propagated among all men, therefore neither of those two, nor anyone born of them, could atone for the sin of man. Since therefore they cannot do this, it is necessary that there should be one of the race who can. Further : as Adam and all his race would have remained upright without support from any other creature had he not sinned, so was it needful, that if the same race were to rise again after its fall, it should rise and be raised by itself. Now by whomsoever it may be replaced in its former condition, in him will it stand by whose means it shall recover the position. But when God first created humanity in the one Adam, nor save from him would make the female (that from both sexes mankind might be multiplied) ; He plainly showed that by none but Adam did He intend to realise that which He designed to make of humanity. Wherefore if the race of Adam be restored by any man who is not of the same race, it would not be replaced in that dignity in which it was to have stood had not Adam sinned, and therefore would not have been completely restored, and the purpose of God would appear to have failed : which are two inconsistencies ; therefore it is necessary that he by whom the race of Adam may be restored shall be of Adam's race.

B. If we follow reason, as we decided to do, this must be inevitable.

A. Let us now consider whether human nature should be assumed by God from a father and a mother, as other men are made, or from a male without a female, or from a female without a male. For by whatever way it may be

of these three, it will be from Adam and Eve, of whom is every human being of either sex ; nor is any one way of the three easier to God than the others, that in that way it should rather be assumed.

B. You are advancing on the right road.

A. But we need not take much trouble to show that that human being would be more purely and fittingly made of man alone or woman alone, than by the union of both, like all other children of men.

B. The assertion is sufficient.

A. Therefore that humanity is to be taken from man only, or from woman only.

B. It can be from no other.

A. God can make a human being in four ways : that is, either by a man and a woman, as continual fact shows ; or by neither man nor woman, as He created Adam ; or by man without woman, as He made Eve ; or by woman without man, which as yet He had not done. To prove therefore that this also lay in His power, and that He was capable of this very work, there would be nothing more suitable than that He should assume that humanity which we are looking for from woman without man. Whether this may be more worthily done by a virgin or not, there is no need to dispute : without any discussion, it may be asserted that of a virgin it behoved God to be made man.

B. What you say my heart approves.

A. Is not this declaration of ours something firm and solid ? or is it, as the unbelievers object, something visionary, like a cloud ?

B. Nothing can be better defined or more clearly supported.

A. Proceed then to colour, not an imaginary vision, but a clearly projected truth, and say, it is thoroughly consistent that as the sin of man and the cause of our

condemnation had its origin in a woman, so the remedy for sin and the cause of salvation should be born of a woman; and lest women should despair of having a share in the lot of the blessed, since from a woman so great evil proceeded, it is fitting that to build up their hopes again this great good should proceed from a woman. Fill in again with colour this also: that since it was a virgin who was the cause of all the evil to the human race, much more is it right that it should be a virgin who would be the occasion of all the good. Also this: if woman, whom God made from man, was made of a virgin, it is very suitable that the man also who is made of a woman should be made of a virgin, without man. But these are enough of the illustrations which may be made of this point: Why God made man should be born of a woman, a virgin.

B. These illustrations are very beautiful and most reasonable.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT THE WORD ALONE, AND HUMANITY, SHOULD BE UNITED IN ONE PERSON, IS IMPERATIVE.

A. NOW, then, we have to inquire in which Person God, who is three Persons, would assume humanity. But several Persons cannot assume one and the same man in unity of Person. Wherefore this must of necessity take place in one Person only. But on this personal unity of God and man, and as to with which-Person of the Holy Trinity it ought the rather to take place, I have said what I think to be sufficient for the present investigation, in my letter on the Incarnation of the Word, addressed to Pope Urban.

B. Treat, however, though briefly, this point: Why the Person of the Son should become Incarnate, rather than that of the Father, or of the Holy Ghost?

A. If any other Person were to become Incarnate, there would be two Sons in the Trinity, namely, the Son of God who was Son before the Incarnation, and that one who by the Incarnation should be born of a virgin; and there would be among the Persons who must always be equal, inequality in the dignity of birth; for one born of God would have a greater origin than one born of a virgin. Also, if the Father became Incarnate, there would be two grandsons in the Trinity, since the Father would be the grandson of the parents of the virgin, through the assumed humanity, and the Word, though He had naught of humanity, would yet be a grandson of the virgin since He would be the Son of her son; which are all incongruities, and would not be contingent on the Incarnation of the Word. There is also another cause why it should beseeem the Son to be Incarnate rather than the other Persons, in that it sounds more suitable for a son to supplicate a father than for anyone else to beg of any other. Also, man, for whom the supplication had to be made, and the devil, who was to be expelled, had both set up a false idea of God by their own will; whereby they sinned, as it were, peculiarly against the Person of the Son, who is believed to be the true image of God: and so to Him who was specially injured, is most fitly attributed the punishment or forgiveness of the fault. Wherefore, since reasoning has inevitably led us up to this: that it is necessary the divine and human natures should meet in Person, and that this cannot be done in more than one Divine Person, and that it is plain that it would most fitly be done in the Person of the Word, than in the others: we conclude it

to be necessary that God the Word, and humanity, should be united in one Person.

B. The way by which you lead me is so guarded on every side by logical proof, that I do not seem to be able to turn away either to right or left.

A. It is not I who lead you: but He of whom we are speaking, without whom we can do nothing, leads us wherever we are keeping in the way of truth.

CHAPTER X.

THAT THIS SAME MAN WOULD NOT LIE UNDER THE NECESSITY OF DEATH; AND HOW IT WOULD BE THAT HE COULD, OR COULD NOT, SIN; ALSO, WHY HE, OR AN ANGEL, ARE TO BE PRAISED FOR THEIR RIGHTEOUSNESS, WHEREAS THEY CANNOT SIN.

A. **B**UT whether this Man would lie under the necessity of death, as do all other human beings, we need not investigate; but if Adam was not to have died had he not sinned, much more should not this Man be bound to suffer death, in whom there could be no sin, because He would be God.

B. I wish you would dwell a little on this; for whether it be asserted that He could sin, or that He could not, it appears to me that there arises no little difficulty. For if it be said that He would not be able to sin, it seems difficult to believe (let me speak for a little while, not as of him who never has been, as we have done hitherto, but as of Him whose life and acts we know of); who can deny that He could have done many things which we call sins? For, to mention no others: how can we say, that He could not lie, which is always a sin? For when He said to the Jews, speaking

of the Father, "If I were to say, I know Him not, I shall be a liar like unto you," and among those words He saith, "I know Him not," who would aver that He could not say those same three utterances except with other words, nor so as to assert, "I know Him not"? Which had He done, He would, as He Himself said, have been a liar, which is to be a sinner. Since, then, He could do this, He could sin.

A. He could say this ; and yet He could not sin.

B. Explain this.

A. All power depends on will. When I say, for instance, that I can speak or walk, it is implied, if I will. But if freedom of will be not implied, it is not power, but necessity. For when I say, that I can be betrayed or conquered against my will, this is no capacity of mine, but my necessity, and power on the part of another. For that I can be betrayed or conquered is nothing else but that another can betray or conquer me. Thus we may say of Christ that He could lie, if we imply "if He willed it ;" and since He could not lie against His will, nor could will to lie, no less exact is it to say that He could not lie. Thus He both could, and could not, lie.

B. Now let us return to our inquiry concerning Him, as though He had not yet been ; in like manner as we began. I say then, that if he could not sin, because, as you say, he could not will to sin, he would remain upright of necessity, since not of his own free will would he be righteous. Then what reward would be due to him for his righteousness? For we always say that God so made man and angels as that they could sin, in order that whereas they could depart from righteousness and yet do adhere to it of their own free will, they may deserve reward and praise, which would not be due to them if they were of necessity righteous.

A. Are not the angels who cannot sin worthy of praise?

B. They certainly are, because they merited their present inability to sin by the fact that they formerly would, and could not, sin.

A. What do you say of God, who cannot sin, nor derived this from a power of sinning wherein He sinned not; is not He to be glorified for His righteousness?

B. I should wish you to answer this for me; for if I say He is not to be glorified, I know I shall be saying what is not true. But if I say He is to be glorified, I fear to weaken the argument which I used concerning the angels.

A. The angels are not to be lauded for their righteousness because they were able to sin, but because by this in some way they have of themselves that they cannot sin; wherein they are somewhat like unto God, who hath of Himself whatever He hath. For a person is said to give a thing, who does not take it away when he could take it; and he is said to cause a thing to be, who when he could prevent its existence does not do so. As therefore the angel in question was able to deprive himself of his righteousness, and did not abstract it; and could cause himself to cease to be upright, and did not do so; he is rightly said to have conferred uprightness on himself, and to have made himself righteous. In this way therefore has he righteousness from himself (for a creature is not able to have it of himself otherwise), and therefore he is to be praised for his uprightness; nor is he righteous of necessity, but of free will; for that is improperly called necessity, where is neither compulsion nor prohibition. Wherefore since God hath perfectly from Himself whatever He hath, He is most to be glorified for the perfections which He has and retains not out of any necessity, but, as I said

above, in His own, eternal immutability. So therefore that man who would be also God, would, since he would have every virtue he possessed from himself, be righteous not of necessity but of free will, and by his own power ; and would therefore be worthy of praise, For although the human nature would have from the divine whatever it possessed, yet he (since two natures will be one Person) will have it from himself.

B. You have satisfied me on this point ; and I plainly see that he could not sin, and yet would have the merit of his uprightness. But now I think I must ask, why, since God could make such a man, He did not make the angels and the two first human beings like this, so that they in like wise might not be able to sin, and yet might have the merit of their uprightness ?

A. Do you understand what you are saying ?

B. I think I do ; and therefore I ask, why did not God make them such ?

A. Because it neither could, nor should, come to pass, that each one of them should be God, as we asserted of that one in question ; and if you ask, why God did not do this in as many persons as there are in the Holy Trinity, I answer : because reason then did not at all require this to be done, but rather (since God does nothing without reason) forbade it.

B. I am ashamed of having asked that ; say what you were going to say.

A. Let us then assert that he would not be obliged to die, because he would not be a sinner.

B. I must grant it.

CHAPTER XI.

THAT HE WOULD DIE OF HIS OWN FREE WILL ; AND
THAT MORTALITY DOES NOT BELONG TO PURE
HUMAN NATURE.

A. **B**UT it now remains for us to investigate whether he could die according to his human nature ; for according to the divine nature he will always be incorruptible.

B. Why should we have any doubt about this, since he would be true man, and every human being is naturally mortal ?

A. I think that mortality belongs not to pure, but to corrupted, humanity. For had man never sinned, and his immortality been irrevocably confirmed, none the less, however, would he have been true man ; and when human beings shall rise again incorruptible, none the less will they be true human beings. Now if mortality belonged to the verity of human nature, there never could be a man who was immortal ; therefore to the verity of human nature belongs neither corruptibility nor incorruptibility, since neither constitutes nor annihilates man, but the one avails for his misery, and the other for his happiness. But since there is not any human being but dies, "mortal" is put into the definition of "man" by philosophers, who did not believe the whole man could ever have been or could ever be immortal. Hence it is not sufficient to show that that man in question is true man, in order to prove that he must be mortal.

B. Do you seek out another proof ; for I do not know if you do not, how it can be proved that he can die.

A. It is not doubtful that since He would be God He would be omnipotent.

B. It is true.

A. Then, if he so willed, he could lay down his life and take it again.

B. If he cannot do this, it would not appear that he were omnipotent.

A. Therefore he need never die, if he so willed ; and he could die and rise again. But whether he lays down his life without the action of any other, or whether another causes him to lay it down, he permitting this, makes no difference as to the future.

B. This is not doubtful.

A. If, then, he chose to allow it, he could be slain ; and if he would not allow it, he could not.

B. Reason leads us directly up to this.

A. Reason taught us also that he ought to have something greater than anything which is not God, which he may offer to God of free will, and not as a debt owed to God.

B. It is so.

A. But this can be found neither beneath him nor without him.

B. True.

A. Therefore it is to be discovered within him.

B. This follows.

A. Therefore he will give either himself, or something of himself.

B. I cannot understand otherwise.

A. Now we must inquire what kind of giving this ought to be. He could not give himself, or anything of himself, to God, as if he were giving to one whose it was not, that it might be his, since every creature is God's.

B. It is so.

A. Therefore this giving is so to be understood, as that in some way he gives up himself, or something of himself, for the glory of God, for which he was not a debtor.

B. Thus it follows from what was said before.

A. If we say that he will give himself up to obey God, so that by holding steadfastly to uprightness he may yield himself to God's will, this will not be giving what God doth not require from him as a debt, for every rational creature owes this obedience to God.

B. This cannot be denied.

A. Therefore he must needs give himself, or somewhat of himself, to God in some other way.

B. To this reason drives us.

A. Let us see if perhaps this may be : to give his life, to yield up his spirit, or give himself up to death for the honour of God. For God will not require this of him as a debt due ; for since there would not be sin in him, he would not be obliged to die, as we asserted.

B. I cannot understand it otherwise.

A. Let us consider whether this be logically consistent.

B. Do you speak, and I will willingly listen.

A. If man sinned for pleasure, is it not right that he should atone by suffering ? And if he was conquered by the devil, and induced with the greatest facility to dishonour God by sinning, is it not just that man, atoning to God for sin, should, to the honour of God, vanquish the devil with the utmost difficulty ? Is it not consistent that he who by sinning went so far away from God that he could remove himself no further, should so give himself to God in atonement as that he could not render himself up more completely ?

B. There is nothing more reasonable.

A. But nothing harder or more difficult could man suffer of free will, being under no necessity, for the glory of God, than death ; in no way could man give himself more fully to God than by yielding himself to death for His honour.

B. All these assertions are true.

A. He, therefore, who would atone for the sin of man must be such that he can die if he wills it.

B. I see plainly that the man whom we are seeking must be such that he would die neither by necessity, since he would be almighty ; nor from obligation, since he would never have sinned ; and that he can die of his own free will, because this would be needful.

A. There are also many other reasons for which it highly became him to have the similitude and lead the life of men, yet without sin, which stand out more easily and clearly in his life and works than they could have been presented by reason alone, before being, as it were, verified in act. For who can show forth how necessarily, how wisely, it was ordered that he who was to redeem man from the way of death and perdition, and to bring him back into the way of life and eternal glory, should abide among men, and while thus abiding, whilst he taught them by word how they ought to live, should present himself as an example ? How indeed could he have held up himself as an example to weak mortals, showing that they should not depart from righteousness on account of either injuries, insults, sufferings, or death, unless they had known that the Lord Himself felt all these ?

CHAPTER XII.

THAT ALTHOUGH HE WOULD BE PARTAKER OF OUR INFIRMITIES, YET WOULD HE NOT BE WRETCHED.

B. **A**LL these things plainly show that he must be mortal, and a partaker of our infirmities ; but all this is our wretchedness : he surely would not therefore be wretched ?

A. By no means ; for just as that enjoyment which

is against anyone's will does not conduce to his happiness, so is it not wretchedness to accept any trouble wisely, not of necessity, but of free will.

B. It must be granted.

CHAPTER XIII.

THAT HE WOULD NOT, WITH OUR OTHER INFIRMITIES,
PARTAKE OF OUR IGNORANCE.

B. BUT tell me, whether, in that likeness which he must needs bear to men, he is to share our ignorance as well as our other infirmities?

A. Concerning God, how can you doubt whether He knoweth all things?

B. But although he would be immortal according to the divine nature, according to the human nature will he be mortal. Then why might not that man be truly ignorant in like wise, as he would of a verity be mortal?

A. That assumption of humanity into personal union with Deity, could by the highest wisdom only be done wisely; and therefore it will not adopt with humanity what would in no way be useful, but very injurious to the work which that man would have to do. Now, ignorance would be useful to him in nothing, but injurious in many things; for how should he perform those many and great works which he would have to do, without consummate wisdom, and how should men believe him, if they knew him to be ignorant? And even if they knew it not, of what use would that ignorance be to him? And further, if nothing can be loved, except it be known; as there would be no use in aught which he did not love, so there would be no good which he would not know. But no one knows good perfectly except he who can distinguish it from evil; and none,

who is ignorant of evil, is capable of this discernment. Thus, as he of whom we are speaking will perfectly know all good, so will he be ignorant of no evil. Therefore all knowledge will be his, although he may not show it openly in his intercourse with men.

B. In mature age, it would appear to be as you say ; but in infancy, as it would not be a suitable time for wisdom to be manifested in him, so would it not be necessary, nor, therefore, suitable, that he should have it.

A. Did I not say, that that incarnation would be wisely effected ? For God will assume humanity wisely, that He may wisely, since most profitably, use it. But He could not wisely assume ignorance, for it never is useful, but always hurtful, unless perchance thereby an evil will, which never could be in Him, is restricted in its consequences. And even if sometimes it may do no other harm, yet it does harm in this one point, that it prevents the knowledge of good ; and (to solve your question briefly), the being of that man, as man, will be filled with the fulness of God as in Himself ; whence He will never be without God's power, strength, and wisdom.

B. Although I should never have doubted but that thus it always was in Christ, yet I asked it that I might hear the reason thereof. For we are often sure of something which yet we know not how to prove logically.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW HIS DEATH COULD EXCEED IN VALUE THE MANY AND GREAT SINS OF MANKIND.

B. **N**OW, I pray you to teach me how the death of this one could avail for the many and great sins of all, whereas you can show that one single sin (which we

think a very small one) is so infinite, that were there displayed an infinite number of worlds as full of creatures as this world, not to be preserved from annihilation unless some one gave one glance contrary to God's will, yet that glance should not be given.

A. If that Man were present, and you knew who he was, and it were said to you, "unless you slay that man, the whole world will perish, with all which is not God:" would you do it in order to preserve every other creature?

B. I would not do it, even though an infinite number of worlds were displayed to me.

A. What, if it were said to thee again: "Either kill him, or all the sins of the world shall be laid upon you?"

B. I should answer that I would rather take upon myself all other sins, not only those of this world both past and future, but also all which can be imagined besides these, than that one only. And I consider that I ought to answer the same not only as to the slaying of him, but also as to the smallest hurt which might be done to him.

A. You judge rightly; but tell me why your heart so decides, as that it dreads more one sin in hurting that man, than all others that can be imagined; whilst all sins that are committed, whatever they may be, are done against him.

B. Because a sin committed against his person, is incomparably greater than all those which could be imagined without his person.

A. What will you say in answer to this: that one will often willingly suffer some personal injuries lest he should suffer greater damage to his possessions?

B. That God, in whose power are all things, needeth not this endurance (as you answered before to a question of mine).

A. You answer rightly : let us therefore see, why no sins, however enormous, however numerous, not touching the person of God, are great enough to be compared to the violation of the corporal existence of this man ?

B. It is very plain.

A. What doth it seem to thee is the worth of him, the murder of whom is so great an evil ?

B. If his existence be as great a good as his destruction is an evil, incomparably greater a good is it than is the evil of those sins which are exceeded beyond all comparison by his murder.

A. You speak truly. But think : sins are hateful in proportion as they are evil ; and this his life is deserving of love in proportion to its goodness. Whence it follows that this his life is more deserving of love than are sins hateful.

B. I cannot help perceiving this.

A. Do you not think that so great, so lovable good can suffice to atone for the sins of the whole world ?

B. Nay, rather can it do infinitely more.

A. You see therefore how this life can conquer all sins, if yielded up for them.

B. Plainly.

A. If therefore to yield up the life be the same as to accept death, then as the yielding up of the life outweighs all the sins of men, so also doth the acceptance of death.

CHAPTER XV.

HOW THAT DEATH CAN ALSO ATONE FOR THE SINS OF
THOSE WHO SLEW HIM.

B. **G**RANTED that it is thus of all sins which do not touch the person of God. But I now perceive something else to ask. For if the sin of slaying Him

is as evil as His life is good, how can His death overcome and blot out the sins of those who killed Him? Or if it blots out the sin of some of them, how is it that for some sins of other men it cannot atone? But we believe that many among those were saved, and that numberless others are lost.

A. This difficulty was solved by the apostle, who said that "if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." For there is so great a difference between a sin done knowingly and one done in ignorance, that the evil which, on account of its enormity, they never could commit, becomes venial because it is done ignorantly. But no human could ever wish, knowingly, to kill God; and therefore those who ignorantly slew Christ, did not fall into that infinite sin to which no other sins can be compared. For we did not regard its magnitude when estimating how good was that life, in the light of its having been committed ignorantly, but as having been done knowingly; which no one either did, or could do.

B. You have reasonably proved that the murderers of Christ might have attained to the forgiveness of their sin.

A. What more do you still ask? You already see how a rational necessity shows that the heavenly kingdom is to be completed from among men, and that this cannot be but by the remission of sins, which no man can have except through a man who shall be God also, and by his death shall reconcile sinners to God. Then we discovered clearly that Christ, whom we confess to be God and man, died for us; this, however, being recognised most undubitably, that all things which He says are certain, since God cannot lie; and that all things which He does are wisely done, although the reason of these may not be understood by us.

B. What you say is true; nor do I doubt in the least that what He said was true, or that what He did was wisely done. But I do ask this, that you should explain to me the justice and possibility of those things in the Christian faith which to unbelievers appear wrong or impossible: not with the purpose of confirming me in the faith, but that you may gladden me by the logical proof of its truth to my intellect.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW FROM THE SINFUL MASS GOD ASSUMED SINLESS HUMANITY; AND OF THE SALVATION OF ADAM AND EVE.

B. WHEREFORE, as you have explained the reason of those things which have already been said, so I ask that you would lay bare the reason of those which I am about to investigate also. That is, first, how, from the sinful mass, that is, from the human race, which was all infected with sin, God assumed sinless humanity, as though unleavened were taken from fermented dough. For, granted that the conception of that Man Himself is pure and free from the sin of carnal delight, yet the virgin herself from whom He assumed humanity was "shapen in wickedness," and "in sin did her mother conceive her," and she was born with original sin, since she herself sinned in Adam, in whom all have sinned.

A. Since that Man is proved to be God and the reconciler of sinners, it is not doubtful but that He is entirely without sin, which He cannot be, unless He were taken without sin from the sinful mass. But if we cannot understand for what reason the wisdom of God

did this, we should not be surprised, but reverently acquiesce in the fact that among the mysteries of so deep a subject there is something of which we are ignorant. Indeed God restored human nature more wondrously than He created it; either indeed is equally easy to God; but man had not before he existed, so sinned as to have forfeited his creation. But after he had been created he by sinning deserved to lose both his very existence and its object; although he might not lose his existence itself, he incurred the necessity of being either the subject of punishment, or the object of God's mercy. Neither, however, of these two alternatives could have been if he had been annihilated. Therefore God re-made him so much the more wondrously than He created him, in that the former was done for a sinner contrary to his deserts: the latter neither for a sinner, nor against desert. But: how great a thing is it so to unite God and man as that the integrity of either nature being preserved, the same Who is God is also man! Who then can dare even to think that the human intellect can comprehend how wisely, how wonderfully, so inscrutable a work was effected?

B. I agree that no man can in this life thoroughly unfold so great a mystery, nor do I ask you to do that of which no man is capable, but to do what you can. And you will the rather convince me that deeper reasons lie concealed in this mystery, by showing that you see some reasons for it, than if by saying nothing you prove that you do not understand any reason for it at all.

A. I perceive that I cannot get free from your importunity. If I can at all explain what you ask, let us thank God; but if I cannot do so, that which has already been proved must be considered sufficient. Then, since it is certain that God must needs become

man, there is no doubt but that wisdom and power would not be wanting to Him, so that this should be done without sin.

B. I plainly assent to this.

A. Thus it was necessary that the redemption Christ effected should avail not only for those who lived at that time, but for others also. For, let us suppose there is a king whom all the population of his state (except only one individual, who is, however, of the same race), has so offended that not one of them, by any action of his own, can escape the penalty of death : but that he, who alone is innocent, is so high in the king's favour that he can, and bears so great a love to the culprits that he will, reconcile all who will believe in his advice, by a certain service which will greatly please the king, to be done on a day fixed according to the king's will. But since not all who need to be reconciled can assemble on that day, the king grants, on account of the magnitude of that service, that whoever, either before or after that day, shall have avowed their desire to ask for forgiveness through that service done on that day, and to adhere to the covenant thus made, shall be absolved from all past offences ; and that should it happen that after this pardon they transgress again, if they will worthily make satisfaction and thenceforward amend, they shall again receive forgiveness through the efficacy of the same covenant ; only under this condition, that no one shall enter into his palace until that have been done whereby the guilt shall be forgiven. So (according to the parable), since all men who were to be saved would not be present when Christ effected that redemption, so great was the power of His death, that the effect thereof is extended also to those absent, whether as to place or time. Now this, that it was not intended to benefit those only who

were present, is hence easily to be understood, since not so many could be present at His death as are needed for the formation of the celestial city; nor even though all who were living at the time of His death, wherever they were, should be admitted to that redemption; for there are more devils, than there were living at that time men from whom their number is to be replaced. Nor can it be believed that there has ever been a time since man was made, when this world with the creatures made for man's use, was so empty as that there was in it no one of the human race who belonged to that for which mankind was created. For it appears inconsistent that God should, even for one moment, permit the human race, and the things which He made for the use of those from among whom His celestial kingdom is to be completed, to have as it were existed in vain. For they would somewhat appear to exist in vain, so long as they seemed not to exist for that for which they were chiefly made.

B. You show agreeably to reason, and by an argument which appears incontrovertible, that there never was any moment since man was created, without something belonging to his reconciliation (without which every human being would be made in vain); and this we may conclude was not only consistent, but also necessary. But if this be more consistent and reasonable, than that there should ever have been no means whereby the intention of God in making man might be carried out, and there be nothing to oppose to the argument, it is necessary that something belonging to the predicted reconciliation should always have existed. Whence it cannot be doubted but that Adam and Eve partook of that redemption, although divine authority does not expressly assert it.

A. It would also seem incredible, when God created

them and unchangeably determined from them to make all mankind, whom He meant to receive into the celestial kingdom, that He should purposely have excluded those two from that intended plan.

B. Rather ought He to be believed to have specially made them for this, that they might be among them for whom they were created.

A. You view it rightly. But, no soul, before the death of Christ, could enter into the celestial paradise ; as I said before of the royal palace.

B. So we hold.

A. But that virgin of whom was born that Man of whom we are speaking, was of those who before His birth were cleansed by Him from sins, and in that same purity of hers was He born of her.

B. I should be entirely satisfied with what you say, were it not that, whereas He ought from Himself to have His own freedom from sin, He seems to have it from His mother, and to be pure, not of Himself, but through her.

A. It is not thus. Rather, since the purity of His mother whereby He is pure, was through Him alone, He also by Himself and of Himself was pure.

CHAPTER XVII.

HOW IT IS THAT HE DIED WITHOUT NECESSITY, WHO
COULD NOT HAVE BEEN EXCEPT HE WAS TO DIE.

B. **W**ELL done so far. But it seems to me that there is yet something more to ask. For we said before that He did not die of necessity, and now we see that His mother through His future death was pure, which had she not been, He could not have been

from her. How then is it that He did not die of necessity, who unless He were to die could not have been? For if He were not to die, the virgin of whom He was born would not have been sinless, since she never could have been so except by believing in *His* true death, and He could not otherwise have assumed humanity from her. Wherefore if He died not of necessity after He was born of a virgin, He could be not born of a virgin after He had been born : which is not possible.

A. Had you thoroughly considered what has already been said, you would certainly, as I think, have found the question solved therein.

B. I do not see how.

A. Did we not, when we were asking whether He could lie, did we not, I say, show that there are two capacities for deceiving, the one of willing to deceive, and the other of being able to deceive ; and that since, while He was able to deceive, He also had this of Himself, that He could not will to deceive : therefore He was to be lauded for His righteousness whereby He held to the truth ?

B. It is so.

A. In like manner, as to the preservation of life : there is the power of willing to retain it, and the power of retaining it. So that when it is asked whether the same God-man could preserve His life so that He should never die, it is not to be doubted ; because He always had the power of preserving it, although He chose not to will to retain it so as never to die ; and since He had this of Himself, that is, to will not to be able, it was not of necessity, but by free power, that He laid down His life.

B. These powers in Him were not exactly alike : the power to deceive, and the power to preserve His life. For in the one case it follows that if He would, He

could, lie ; but in the other it would appear that if He would not, He no more could, than He could not be what He was. For to this end was He man, that He might die, and through faith in His future death could He assume humanity from a virgin, as you said before.

A. In the same way as you think He was so not able not to die as to have died of necessity because He could not but be what He was, so might you assert that He could not have willed not to die, or that He of necessity willed to die, since what He was He could not but be ; for He was not made man more for this, that He should die, than that He should will to die. Wherefore, as you ought not to say that He could not but will to die, or that He willed to die of necessity, so it ought not to be said that He could not but die, or, that He died of necessity.

B. Rather, because both dying and willing to die are subject to the same reasoning, they appear to have been in Him matters of necessity.

A. Who voluntarily chose to become man, that by the same immutable will He might die, and by faith in that certainty a virgin might become pure, from whom that humanity might be assumed ?

B. God, the Son of God.

A. Has it not already been proved that the will of God is constrained by no necessity, but freely makes use of its own immutability when it is said to do aught necessarily ?

B. That has certainly been proved. But we see, on the other hand, that what God unchangeably wills, cannot but be, rather necessarily must be. Wherefore, if God willed that that man should die, he could not but die.

A. From the fact that the Son of God assumed humanity with the will to die, you prove that that same Man could not but die.

B. So I understand it.

A. Does it not likewise appear from what has been said as to the Son of God and the humanity He took, being one Person, that the same is God and Man, Son of God, and son of a virgin ?

B. It is so.

A. Therefore, that same man could not but die, and died, of His own will.

B. I am unable to deny it.

A. Since, therefore, the will of God by no necessity, but of its own power, doeth aught, and the will of that One was the will of God, He died by no necessity, but of His own free will.

B. I am unable to withstand your arguments ; for neither the premisses you lay down, nor the consequences which from them you assert, can I weaken in the least. That, however, which I said, will still occur to my mind : *i.e.*, that if He willed not to die, He no more could do it than He could cease to be what He is ; for He was really and truly to die, because if He had not been really to die, that true faith in His future death could not have been, whereby that virgin, of whom He was born, and many others, were cleansed from sin. For if it were not actual and real, it could have been of no avail. Wherefore, if He could refrain from dying, He could make that to be true which was not true.

A. Why was it true before He died, because He was to die ?

B. Because He freely willed it with an unchangeable will.

A. If, then, as you say, He therefore could not but die, because He was really and truly to die, and on this account was really and truly to die, because He Himself immutably willed this, it follows that from no other

cause could He not but die, except because He willed to die of His immutable will.

B. So it is ; but whatever were the cause, it is still true ; because He could not but die, and it was necessary He should die.

A. You stick too much at a mere nothing, and anticipate difficulties where there are none.

B. Have you forgotten what I opposed to your excuses in the beginning of this discussion of ours, viz. : that what I was asking, you were not required to do for the learned, but for me and those who asked through me ? Therefore bear with me while on account of the slowness and dulness of our intellect I go on questioning, so that you may satisfy me and them even on unimportant points, in the same manner as you began.

CHAPTER XVIII. (*a.*)

THAT FOR GOD THERE IS NEITHER NECESSITY NOR IMPOSSIBILITY ; ALSO, WHAT IS COMPULSORY, AND WHAT NON-COMPULSORY, NECESSITY.

A. **W**E have already asserted that God is improperly said to be unable to do anything, or to do anything of necessity. For in fact all necessity and impossibility depends upon His will : but His will is subject to no necessity or impossibility. For nothing is necessary or impossible, except because He wills it to be so ; on the other hand, to say that He wills or does not will anything from necessity or impossibility, is contrary to the truth. Wherefore, since He does all things which He wills, and only because He wills them : as no necessity or impossibility precedes His assent or dissent, so neither does either precede His action or abstention,

however many things He immutably wills and does. And as, when God does anything, after it has been done, it cannot not have been done, but it always remains true that it has been done, yet can it not rightly be said that it is impossible for God to cause that which is past not to have happened; it is not, however, the necessity or impossibility of action that is in operation here, but the sole will of God, Who (since He Himself is Truth) wills truth to be as immutable as He is: so if He designs immutably to do anything, although what He proposes, before it be done, cannot be not to be done, yet is there no necessity for Him to do it, nor impossibility of His doing it, since it is His will alone that acts. Whenever, then, it is said that "God cannot," it is not that any potentiality in Him is denied, but His insuperable Power and Will is signified. For nothing else is understood except that nothing can cause Him to do that which He refuses to be able to do. For this mode of speech is much used of saying a thing can be done, not because in itself, but because in another thing, resides the power; and that it cannot be done, not because itself, but because another thing, lacks the power. We say, for example, "this man can be conquered," for "another can conquer him;" and, "he cannot be conquered," for "no one can overcome him." For to be conquerable is not power, but impotence; nor is it impotence, but power, to be unable to be vanquished. Nor do we assert that God does aught necessarily, from this, that any necessity binds Him, but rather that it binds another (as I said of impotence), when we say He cannot do aught. Because every necessity is rather compulsion, or prohibition; which two necessities are mutually converted into the contraries, necessity and impossibility. For whatever is obliged to be is forbidden not to be, and what is obliged not to be is

forbidden to be ; so that what is necessary to be is impossible not to be, and what is necessary not to be is impossible to be, and *vice versâ*. But when we say that for God anything is necessary to be or not to be, it is not meant that there is compelling or prohibiting necessity as towards Him, but it is meant, that in all other things there is a necessity prohibiting these to be done, and compelling them not to be done ; the converse of this is what is meant as regards God. For when we say that God must needs say what is true, and that of necessity He can never lie, nothing else is said but that so great is in Him constancy in preserving the truth, that it is of necessity that nothing could make Him not say the truth, or say what is not true. Wherefore when we say that that Man Who, according to the unity of His person (as was said before), is one and the same, Who is the Son of God, could not but die, or could not but will to die, after He had been born of a virgin ; it is not intended to mean that there was in Him any powerlessness to preserve or to will to preserve His immortal life, but we imply the immutability of His will, whereby He freely became man that He, persevering in that same will might die, and we imply that nothing could change His will. For the impotence would be greater than the power, if He could will to lie or break faith or change His will which previously He had chosen should be immutable. And if (as I said above), when anyone freely proposes to do something right, and by the same determination afterwards performs that which he proposed, although he may be compelled, if unwilling, to keep his promise, yet is he not said to do what he does of necessity, but of that free will whereby he intended it : (for not of necessity, nor from impotence, ought it to be said that anything is done, or is not done, where neither necessity

nor want of power caused the thing in question, but free will :)—if, I say, it be so in the case of a human being, much more should necessity or impotence never be even named in connection with God, who doth nothing except as He willeth, and whose will no power is able to coerce or restrain. But to this end was efficacious the diversity of natures and unity of person in Christ, that if human nature were not able to do what must needs be done for the restoration of mankind, the divine nature might do it ; and if it were hardly suitable to the divine nature, the human might effect it. Finally, the virgin who was by faith sanctified that He might be born of her, did in nowise believe He should die save because He willed it, as she had learnt from the prophet, who said of Him : “ He was offered up because He willed it.” Wherefore, since her faith was true, it was necessary it should so be in the future, as she believed it. And, should it disquiet you afresh when I say that it was necessary, remember that the truth of the virgin’s faith was not the cause of His dying willingly, but, because this was to take place was her faith true. On which account, if it be said, that it was necessary He should die by His sole will, because the belief or the prophecy which preceded His death was true, it is but as though you should say that it was necessary it should be so, because it was to be so ; but in this sense necessity does not compel the thing to be, but the existence of the fact involves the necessity. For there is an antecedent necessity, which is the cause of the existence of the fact ; and there is a consequent necessity, which the fact occasions. It is a preceding and causative necessity which is meant when it is said that the earth revolves round the sun, because it is necessary it should do so. But this is a consequent and non-efficient, merely existent, necessity which is meant when I

say you talk of necessity, because you do talk ; for the force of natural conditions causes the earth to revolve, whereas no necessity compels you to speak. Wherever there is the preceding, there is also the consequent necessity ; but not uniformly where is the consequent is there also the preceding. For we may say, it is necessary the earth should revolve, since it does revolve ; but it is not similarly true that you therefore speak because it is necessary you should speak. This consequent necessity always runs thus : whatever was must needs have been.

What is, must needs be.

Whatever is to be, must needs take place.

This is that necessity, which (where Aristotle treats of singular and future propositions) appears either to annihilate, or to occasion, everything, necessarily. By this consequent and non-causative necessity, since the belief or prophecy concerning Christ was true, because He was to die of His own will, not by compulsory necessity, was it necessary it should be thus ; by *this* necessity was He made Man : by this He did and suffered whatever He did and suffered : by this did He will whatever He did will. But by the same necessity they came to pass, because they were to be, and they were to be, because they had been, and they had been, because they had come to pass ; and if you insist upon knowing the real necessity of all that He did and suffered, know that all were of necessity, because Himself so willed. *But no necessity preceded His Will.* Wherefore if these things were, only because He willed ; had He not willed, they had not been. So then no one took His soul from Him, but He laid it down of Himself, and took it again ; because He had the power to lay down His life, and to take it again, as He Himself said.

B. You have satisfied me that He cannot be proved

to have undergone death by any necessity ; nor do I regret having persistently importuned you to do so.

A. We have drawn out, as I think, a clear explanation of how God assumed humanity without sin from the sinful mass ; but I in nowise consider it is to be denied that there is any other besides that which we have brought forward, except this, that God can do what the reason of man cannot comprehend. But since these appear to me to be sufficient, and since if I desired now to inquire into any other it would be needful to investigate what original sin is, and how from the first parents it was diffused among the whole human race except that one man of whom we are speaking ; and to touch upon certain other questions which require separate handling ; let us, satisfied with the explanation we have worked out, go on with what remains of the task we have begun.

B. As you will ; but upon this condition, that some time, God helping you, you will, as though paying a debt due, give that other proof which you evade going into.

A. So far as my own intention goes, I do not refuse what you ask ; but as I am uncertain about the future, I dare not promise, but commit it to God's ordering. But now say what you think remains to be unravelled of the question you put at the beginning, on account of which many others have obtruded themselves.

B. The main point of the question was, why God was made man that by His death He might save mankind, when it would seem that this might have been done in some other way : in answer to which you showed by many and necessary proofs that the restoration of human nature neither ought to have been left undone : nor could have been, unless man should repay what for sin he owed unto God : which was so heavy a debt that

as no one unless he were man, ought, so unless he were God, he could not, pay it; and therefore that some one must be man who also is God. Wherefore it was needful that God should assume humanity in unity of person, so that the nature which ought to pay, and could not have paid, should be in person One who could. Then you showed how of a virgin, and by the Person of the Son of God was to be assumed that humanity which should be God; and how it could be assumed without sin from the sinful mass. Further, you plainly proved that the life of this man was so ineffable, so beyond all price, that it would suffice to atone for what was due for all the sins of all the world, and for infinitely more. It therefore remains to show *in what way* it atones to God for the sins of men.

CHAPTER XVIII. (*b*).

HOW THE LIFE OF CHRIST ATONED TO GOD FOR THE SINS OF MEN, AND HOW IT BEHOVED CHRIST TO SUFFER, AND HOW IT DID NOT BEHOVE HIM TO SUFFER.

A. IF for justice' sake He suffered Himself to be slain, did He not give His life for the honour of God?

B. If I can once understand that of which, though I see it not, I have no doubt; how this could reasonably have been done; and that He could have adhered inflexibly to righteousness while keeping His own life; I will confess Him to have freely given to God for His glory that to which nothing that is not God can be compared, and which can compensate for all the sins of all mankind.

A. Do you not understand that when He bore with

benign patience injuries, insults, and death on the cross with thieves, all brought upon Him (as we said before) on account of righteousness which He was obediently fulfilling, He gave an example to men that for no inconveniences which they may feel should they swerve from the righteousness which they owe to God; which example He would not have given at all had He by His power avoided the death which for such a reason was inflicted upon Him?

B. It would seem that He set that example from no necessity, since many before His coming, and John the Baptist after His coming but before His death, bravely bearing death for the truth, are known to have set it sufficiently.

A. No man except Himself ever by dying gave to God, what He was not of necessity to lose at some time; or paid, that which He owed not. But *He* freely offered to His Father what He would never have been obliged to lose, and paid for sinners that which He owed not on His own account. Wherefore He much the rather set the example that every one should not hesitate to render up to God of his own accord when reason requires it, that which at some time or other he must infallibly lose, who, in nowise needing to do it on His own account, nor being compelled thereto for the sake of others, to whom nothing was due save punishment, gave so precious a Life, even Himself, so ineffable a Person, by a will so perfectly free.

B. You are getting very near to what I want: yet bear with me if I ask something to which (foolish as you may think the question) I have nothing ready in reply should it be asked of me. You say, that when He died, He gave that which He did not owe. But no one will deny that He did better when he gave such an example as this, and that He pleased God more,

than if He had not done it ; or will say but that He ought to do that which He knew to be best and most pleasing to God. How, therefore, can we assert that He did not owe to God what He did, that is, what He knew to be best and most pleasing to God, especially as a creature owes to God all that He is, and knows, and is capable of ?

A. Although a creature has nothing from itself, yet when God allows it lawfully either to do, or leave undone, somewhat, He so gives it both as that though one may be the better, yet is neither definitely required ; whether the creature does what is best, or takes the other alternative, we say it ought to do what it does do ; and if it does that which is the better, it has a reward ; since it freely gives that which is its own. For, though virginity may be greater than marriage, yet is neither positively required of man : both of him who uses matrimony, and of him who prefers to retain his virginity, is it said that they ought to do what they do. For no one says that either virginity or marriage ought to be chosen ; but we say, that that what a man prefers before he decides on either of these, that he ought to do ; and if he keeps his virginity, he looks for a reward for the free gift which he offers to God. Therefore, when you say that a creature owes to God the best which he knows and is capable of, if you understand it as of obligation, and do not imply "if God wills," your assertion is not always true. Thus, for instance, as I said, virginity is not due from man as a debt, but if he prefers, he may use marriage. But if the expression "ought" puzzles you, and you cannot understand it except as implying something owed, know that as it happens sometimes when speaking of being able, or unable, and of necessity, we mean not that ability or necessity are in the things of which they

are predicated, but that they are in something else, so it is with the term "ought." For when we say that the poor ought to receive alms from the rich, it only means that the rich ought to give alms to the poor : since this debt is not to be required of the poor, but of the rich. And we say, that God ought to be over all, not because He is in any way bound to be so, but because all things ought to be subject to Him, and ought to do what He wills, since what He wills, ought to be. Therefore when He wills to make any creature ; whereas it is His to make or not to make, it is said He ought to create, since what He wills ought to be. Thus, then, the Lord Jesus, when He (as we said) willed to endure death : whereas it was His both to suffer and not to suffer, ought to have done what He did, because what He willed ought to be done, and He was not bound to do it, being under no obligation. For since He, the same Person, is both God and man ; according to that human nature in which He was man, He received from the Divine Nature, which is other than the human, so to have for His own all which He had as that He ought to give nothing but what He willed : but, according to His Person, He so had from Himself whatever He had, that He was so perfectly sufficient unto Himself, as that neither ought He to give back anything to another, nor need He give that it might be repaid Him.

B. I now plainly see, that in no sense did He under obligation, as my argument seemed to prove, yield Himself up to death for the honour of God, and yet He ought to have done what He did.

A. That honour appertaineth to the whole Trinity ; because since He Himself is God the Son of God, to His own glory as well as to the glory of the Father and of the Holy Ghost did He offer up Himself, that is, His Humanity to His Divinity, which same is One of Three

Persons. But, however, in order that while holding fast by this same verity we may plainly say that which we desire to say, let us use the customary expression, that the Son freely offered Himself to the Father ; for in this manner it is most clearly expressed ; because that both in one Person God who as man offered Himself, is understood : and also by the name of Father and Son great devotion is felt in the hearts of the hearers when the Father is said to impeach the Son in this manner for us.

B. I most freely adhere to this.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REASONING WHEREBY FROM HIS DEATH MAY BE
DEDUCED THE SALVATION OF MAN.

A. **L**ET us now, as far as we can, consider by how conclusive a chain of reasoning human salvation can be deduced hence.

B. My heart is eager for this : for although I seem to understand it in my own mind, yet I want the web of proof to be woven by you.

A. How much the Son freely gave, it is not however needful to set forth.

B. It is obvious enough.

A. But you will not consider that He who freely gives to God so great a gift, ought to be without any recompence.

B. Rather do I see it to be needful that the Father should recompense the Son ; else would He appear to be either unjust if He would not, or powerless, if He could not : both which suppositions are inconsistent with God.

A. He who recompenses another, either gives what that other has not, or remits, what from that other might be required. But, before the Son did that great thing, all which the Father had, were His also; nor did He ever owe anything which to Him might be remitted. What recompence therefore could be made to Him who had need of naught, and to whom naught could be given or remitted?

B. On the one side I see the necessity, and on the other the impossibility, of recompensing; for it is necessary for God to pay what He owes, and there is no one to whom He might repay it.

A. If so great a reward, and one so justly due, be not paid either to Him or to another, the Son will seem to have done this so great thing in vain.

B. Which it would be wrong to think.

A. Therefore it is necessary that this be repaid to some one else, since to Him it cannot be.

B. This follows inevitably.

A. Should the Son will to give to another that which is due to Himself, surely the Father could not rightly forbid Him, nor refuse it to any to whom the Son might give it?

B. Certainly I take it to be just and necessary that anyone to whom the Son might wish to give, should be recompensed by the Father; since both the Son may give what is His own, and the Father can only repay to another what He owes.

A. To whom could He more fitly assign the fruit of, and retribution for, His death, than to those for whose salvation (as the investigation of the truth showed us) He made Himself man, and to whom (as we said) He in dying gave the example of dying for righteousness' sake? In vain, however, would they be imitators of Him if they were not sharers in His merits. Or whom

could He more justly make heirs of a debt due to Him of which He Himself had no need, and of the overflowings of His fulness, than His kindred and brethren, whom He sees burdened with so many and so great debts and wasting away in the depths of misery ; that what they owe for their sins may be remitted to them, and what on account of their sins they are in need of may be given them ?

B. Nothing more reasonable, delightful, desirable, could the world hear. Therefore I hence conceive so great confidence that I can hardly express the greatness of my heart's exultant joy. For it seems to me that God could reject no human being, coming to Him in this Name.

A. Thus it is, if he approach in the right way. But, how one ought to enter into participation of so great grace, and how live under it, we are taught everywhere in Holy Scripture, which is founded on solid truth (which, God helping us, we shall some day perceive) as upon a firm foundation.

B. Truly, whatsoever is built upon this foundation is founded upon a rock.

A. I think I have in some measure already answered your question, although a better than myself could do so more fully, and the reasons and consequences of this mystery are greater and more numerous than my intellect or that of mortal man is able to grasp. Still, it is plain, that God in nowise needed to do that which we have mentioned ; immutable verity, however, so required. But granting that what that Man did, God is said to have done, (on account of the unity of Person :) yet God needed not to come down from heaven to conquer the devil, nor to act against him to set man free as a maker of justice ; but, God required man to vanquish the devil, in order that he who had offended God by sin, by

righteousness might make reparation. Inasmuch as to the devil God owed nought save punishment, nor did man, save conquest, that having been vanquished by the devil he might vanquish him in turn : but whatsoever *was* required of man, that he owed to God, not to the devil.

CHAPTER XX.

HOW GREAT, AND HOW JUST, IS THE MERCY OF GOD.

A. SO, the mercy of God, which whilst we were considering God's justice and man's sin, seemed to you to vanish away, we now find to be so great and so perfectly consonant with justice as that neither greater nor juster could be conceived of. For what can be understood as being more merciful than that God the Father should say to the sinner who was condemned to eternal torments, and who had nothing wherewith to redeem himself: "Take my Only-Begotten Son, and offer Him for thyself;" and the Son Himself: "Take me, and redeem thyself"? But they do, as it were, speak thus when they call and draw us to the Christian faith. And what can be more just than that he, to whom is given a payment greater than all that is owing to him, should, if this be given in payment of what is owing, remit the whole debt?

CHAPTER XXI.

THAT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT THE DEVIL SHOULD
BE SAVED.

A. **B**UT the salvation of the devil, about which you asked me, you will understand to be impossible, if you will carefully consider that of humanity. For as mankind could not be reconciled save by one who should be God and man, who could die, by whose righteousness might be repaid to God what He had lost by the sin of man : so the lost angels cannot be saved, unless by one who should be God and angel, who could die, and who by his righteousness might restore to God what the sins of others have taken away. And as humanity could not be redeemed by another man who, although he were of the same nature, was not of the same *race*, so no angel could be saved by another angel, although all be of one nature ; since they are not of one *race*, as are human beings. For not, as all men are from one man, are all angels from one angel. And this also prevents their restoration : that as they fell without impulse from another towards their fall, so ought they to rise without help from any other ; which is impossible to them. But otherwise they cannot be restored to the power of place which they used to occupy : for without external help, by their own power which they had received they might have stood firm in the truth, had they not sinned. Wherefore, if anyone should opine that the redemption of our Saviour might at some time be extended to them, he is logically convinced, as logically he is deceived. And I do not say

this as though the value of His death could not by its magnitude prevail over all sins of angels and men, but because irrefragable proof from revelation is against its prevailing for the fallen angels.

CHAPTER XXII.

THAT BY WHAT HAS BEEN SAID IS PROVED THE TRUTH
OF THE OLD AND OF THE NEW TESTAMENTS.

B. **A**LL that you say appears to me most reasonable and incontrovertible; and by the solution of the one question which we proposed, I see that everything contained both in the Old and the New Testament is proved. For when you prove thus that God must needs be made man, even if some few things which you have laid down from our sacred books (as, for instance, what you mentioned concerning the Three Persons of the Godhead, and concerning Adam) were to be omitted, you would yet by argument alone satisfy not only Jews, but Pagans also. And He, the God-Man, gives the new covenant, and confirms the old: for as we must needs acknowledge Him to be the Truth itself, so nothing which is in them contained can anyone deny to be true.

A. If we have said aught which requires correction, I do not refuse it, so it be logically and rightly made. But if herein be confirmed the testimony of the truth, we must not attribute the logical discovery we think we have made, to ourselves, but to God, who is blessed for ever. Amen.





SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTERS OF ST ANSELM.

Part 3.

WRITTEN WHEN A SIMPLE MONK.

I. TO LANFRANC.

BROTHER ANSELM, to his master and father, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, who is revered by Catholics with much love, and beloved with reverence.

Glory be to God on high, who has set the light of your faith and wisdom on a high candlestick, that it may give light to all that are in the house. And we pray Almighty God that this light may so burn that it be not consumed: may so give light to others as that it may never be for itself extinguished: that after its long shining to the English, it may be removed to share eternally in the light divine in company with the angels. As indeed anything good of our own (if such indeed there be), we reckon as yours; so that which benefits you, whatever it may be, we cannot but consider as our own. For although so many unexpected changes of circumstance often try to remove you from me, yet they never could (I will not say separate our closely-adhering souls from each other, yet certainly) draw my clinging spirit away from you. Wherefore I may be silent upon

what you know, and whereof I doubt not, for if you bear me not in your heart at least you could not fly from me : but also you cannot entirely abandon him who follows you wherever you go, and wherever he may remain, still embraces you. The precious cup which you gave to me dearer and dearest, you said with joyous kindness and loving confidence (so master Hernostus brings me word) that you would like to have. Therefore I give you back your gift, yet not at all that I may be less under obligation to you : nay, most freely do I give you the most precious thing I have in the world. Let our beloved brethren who are with you read after the open letter to your highness this short yet full note of mine, addressed to you : my yearning for you continually increases : and the love which you long ago knew I bore you, never grows less.

2. TO ODO AND LANZO.

Anselm of Bec, sinner by his life, monk by profession, to his masters, friends, best-beloved brethren, Odo and Lanzo : despise temporal for the sake of eternal things : for earthly obtain heavenly.

Since true affection, as it is laudably expended, is also irreprehensibly claimed by the fact of loving, I think I am not impudent in somewhat proclaiming my affection for you, that I may either acquire yours, or having acquired it, may render it more perfect. But since on account of our widely separated abodes you can perceive the goodwill of my heart, neither by my kind actions nor even by mutual intercourse, at least let the greeting of a letter be to you a sign that the memory of your love is still alive in my mind. For when first your reverend brotherhood made itself known to my littleness by actual presence, my soul adhering thereto

by the embrace of charity took so deeply the impression, that by loving it formed in itself a clear image thereof by which it always has you present, even when far away; whence, though sight be rare, affection is not occasional but continuous. Thus far the spontaneous greeting of affection is addressed to two; from this point onwards is given the exhortation owed to one alone; for to one of you is it given, since by one was it demanded, but I shall enjoy a double reward of my labour if it be received by each as addressed to himself. Truly do I remember, master mine and friend Lanzo, thy holy zeal for living righteously having demanded with many prayers of my tepidity to quicken thee with spiritual love by admonitory letters, which, as I could not but think it inconsistent that the cold should try to warm up the fervent, so I wished to refuse, but again, considering that by a cold blast a burning fire is increased, I could not entirely withhold what thou didst ask for. Wherefore since that which thou dost require of me thou wilt find much better everywhere in the sacred pages, yet I wish freely to obey thy gentle vehemence out of respect to thee; I will therefore go between the two, and first lay upon thee a charge to study holy Scripture, and next in my own person add a few things, not on my own authority, but on the authority of that same Scripture.

I advise thee therefore, and implore, oh best beloved, that as it is written, "keep thy heart with all diligence," there may be nothing that may take thy mind off its guard. Let it carefully consider what it may gain by advancing; lest, which be far from it! it lose something by falling away. For as in virtue it is more difficult to attain by effort to something one had not before, than from indolence to go without it, so is it harder to recover what is lost by negligence, than to obtain what one

knows one has not as yet possessed. Therefore, dearly-beloved, always esteem past things as nought, so that thou disdain not to hold fast to that to which thou hast attained, and always, even though unable through infirmity, yet strive by persistence to add something thereto. For that among many called, few are chosen, we are all sure, since the Truth so teaches : but who the few are, everyone of us is uncertain, the Truth being silent. Wherefore, whoever liveth not yet as the few, must either by altering his life join himself to the few, or most certainly fear condemnation. But he who judges himself to be already of the few, must not forthwith feel confident of the certainty of his election. For since none of us knows to how few the elect are reduced, no one knows whether he be now among the few chosen, although he be like to few among many called. Therefore, let no one, looking behind him, think how many he is preceding on the road to the heavenly country ; but continually looking forwards, let him anxiously consider whether he could now enter equally with those of whose salvation no believer doubts. See, therefore, best-beloved, that on no account the fear of God which once thou didst conceive, die down ; but that as though fanned continually with unremitting attention it may daily burn more glowingly, until changed into eternal confidence it shall give thee light.

For that is especially to be avoided, beloved brother, which many do, of whom the number is not so great as is the folly of their minds ; who, the longer they live, the more they cherish the hope of living, and, putting away the fear of approaching death, fall away from the resolution to live holily. For it is the rather true that by so much the longer anyone has lived, so much the shorter time he has to live ; and by so much the further anyone is from the day of his birth, the nearer is he to

the day of his death and of retribution for his whole life. Therefore as thou seest each day the past of thy life increase, so know assuredly that thy time for living a holy life is daily growing less. Therefore, friend of mine, be careful so to spend the space of life which remaineth to thee (since thou knowest not how short it is), that from day to day thou expand the holy intention of thy soul, so that although it should be somewhat burdensome to thee to lead a holy life, yet the more thou perceivest that thy labour is hastening to an end, and that thou art nearing thy rest and reward, so much the strongly resisting, and joyfully persevering, thou mayest go forward vigorously fortified. Thou mayest not therefore fall back out of weariness from what thou hast begun, but rather shalt undertake what is prepared for thee, and which thou hast not as yet attempted ; in the hope of celestial aid, for the love of the blissful reward ; that, Christ leading thee, thou mayest attain to the fellowship of the blessed saints. My letter is already almost too long : but it may take leave of those alike with both of whom it began ; attend, my two friends, hear, both my loved ones : receive, I beg, the end of my foolish exhortation in memory of our mutual affection. Foolish, I call the exhortation, being my own : but not the meaning, for that is from God. Listen, then, and do not, on account of my share in it, despise that which is of God. Should the world, now and again, smile on you with its sort of favours, smile not back upon it ; for it does not smile on you for you to smile when the end comes, but that you, being subject to its jeering prince, may lament when he laments. Therefore rather, so often as it shall smile on you, shrink you from its smile, mock with horror at the smiling one, that afterwards you may laugh at the mocker, and smile when it laments. Friends mine,

"love not the world, neither the things that are in the world:" for it is truly written, that "the world passeth away, and the lust thereof;" and that "the friend of the world is the enemy of God." It has no wisp of hay on the tip of its horn; there is gold on the horn: but look behind; the tail is guarded with hay; it wounds with the tail:—beware! Beware, I say, and fare ye well.

3. TO HERNOSTUS.

Brother Anselm to his lord and dearest brother Hernostus wishes as much health of body as is good for him, and of soul as shall be sufficient for him.

The aggravated suffering of your illness, my loving and equally beloved friend, I knew first from the report of others, and then by reading your letter. To be silent as to how great compassion I felt therefor in my mind: my conscience bears me witness that I would gladly transfer all that suffering to my own body. But since it is certain that God "scourgeth every son whom He receiveth," the same love in a wonderful manner both urges me to pity because you are worn with chastisement, and, because you are being trained for your inheritance, draws me on to congratulation. For we ought to consider, beloved, what consolation those sufferings bring with them, which, while they outwardly wash away our sins, to which they, by external sufferings, draw our attention, give to us the lot of God's children, to whom are promised the joys of the heavenly kingdom; and while our outward man, which must needs fail daily, groans and sighs, weighed down by heavy blows, our inward man, which ought to be renewed day by day, being relieved from its burden of sins, exults and breathes freely. This will most certainly be attained to, if the inward man starts not impatiently aside during

the chastisement of the outward, but, by acts of thanksgiving, submits freely to the chastising hand. For as we are always pleasing to Almighty God so often as we dissent from His will in no particular, we must assuredly appease the merciful Lord if, when chastised, we willingly yield ourselves to our chastiser. But since anger is shown against an adversary only: if the guilty one associates himself with the one offended, by agreement with his opinion, the impulse of the offended one must subside, since he can find no enemy to strike at. Wherefore, dearly beloved, since it is written that "we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God;" when we are scourged, let us be of the same opinion concerning God's dealings with us, as was blessed Job: "*Haec mihi sit consolatio ut affligens me doloribus non parcat.*" Job vi. 10.

4. TO GONDULPH.

Greeting from brother Anselm to his honoured master, best beloved brother and most attached friend, Master Gondulph.

Though I desire to write to thee, soul most beloved of my soul, though I intend to write to thee, I know not how best to begin my address. For whatever I know about thee is sweet and joyous to my spirit: whatever I desire for thee is the best which my mind can conceive. For I saw thee such that I loved thee as thou knowest; I hear thee to be such that I yearn after thee, God knoweth how much: whence it cometh that whithersoever thou goest, my love follows thee; and wherever I remain, my longing embraces thee. And since thou dost eagerly ask me by thy messengers, exhort me by thy letters, and urge me by thy gifts, to have thee in remembrance: "Let my tongue cleave to the roof of

my mouth " if I have not held Gondulph first among my friends. I do not here mean Gondulph the layman, my father, but my friend, Gondulph the monk. Now how could I forget thee? How could he fade from my memory who is impressed upon my heart as is a seal upon wax? Also, why dost thou, as I hear, complain with so much sadness that thou never receivest a letter of mine, and why dost thou ask so affectionately to have one frequently, when in the spirit thou hast me always with thee? When therefore thou art silent, I know thou carest for me; and when I make no sign, "thou knowest that I love thee." Thou art a sharer in my existence, for I have no doubts of thee; and I am witness to thee that thou art sure of me. Since therefore we are mutually sharers in each other's consciousness, it only remains that we should tell each the other what concerns us, that we may alike either rejoice or be anxious for each other. But as to my affairs, and the reasons why I would have thee rejoice or be anxious with me, thou wilt better learn from the bearer of this missive than from the writer of the letter. Greet Master Lanfranc, the young nephew of our revered lord and master, Lanfranc the archbishop, and present to him my faithful desire to do him service. For since he is so near and dear to him whom so I venerate with affection and love with veneration as that I would love what he loves; and since I hear that he is of an amiable character: if he deign to allow it, I both offer him my service and ask for his friendship. Salute Master Osbern who is with you for my dear dead Osbern; for I would impress on thee and on all my friends in as few words as I know how, and with the greatest earnestness I can, that wherever Osbern is, his soul is my soul. I therefore while alive would receive for him whatever if

dead I might hope from your friendship, lest you be negligent when I am dead.

Farewell, farewell, my beloved (*mi charissime*); and, to repay thee according to thine importunity, I pray and pray and pray, remember me, and forget not the soul of Osbern my beloved. If I seem to burden thee too heavily, forget me, and remember him.—I send another letter to the lord Henry; but changing the names all through, thine may be his, and his thine.

5. TO HENRY.

Brother Anselm to Henry, his dear master and brother, greeting.

Dearly-beloved, the more report testifies to me that your behaviour towards all increases daily in virtue and devoutness, so much the more is thy friend's heart inflamed by the wish to see what he by loving hears of, and enjoy what he loves from hearing of it. But since I suspect that we are beloved by each other in no dissimilar degree, so also I do not doubt but that we alike yearn each for the other. But to those whose spirits the fire of love welds into one, it is not unnaturally grievous to be debarred from personal intercourse by local separation. However, since "whether we live, or die, we are not our own, but the Lord's," we ought to consider more what the Lord, whose we are, wills to do with us, than what we, who are not our own, would wish. Let us therefore so cherish the yearning of fraternal love as that we may yet obey the rule of the celestial Will; and so manifest the obedience of submission which the divine rule requires, that we may retain the loving affection which the divine dispensation grants us. For we cannot better modify God's ordering for our own benefit than by setting our own will to

obey His. Since therefore we both have many present with us whom we, being by them beloved, love in return; let us, while enjoying their society with a reasonable pleasure, prepare for those who are not to be enjoyed with a peaceful mind; and let us earnestly pray that at some time with both present and absent friends we may all present together enjoy the presence of God Himself. But since, led by divine mercy, we shall reach the home towards which we struggle not as by the same path, we shall the more joyfully assemble, as though recalled from various places of exile. I do not thus exhort thy serenity, beloved, as fearing thou dost not thus, but as desiring that wherein thou doest well therein thou shouldst continually make progress. I commend to thee Master Herluin my beloved, who also loveth me, as thou mayest know by his own mouth, who will better be able to tell thee those things which concern me, and for which I demand thy love, than I could do in the narrow limits of a letter. Consider the letter I send to Master Gondulph as thine own, changing the name, and thine as his. Now whatever my affection, whether expressing itself, or asking anything, writes either to thee or to him, that very same it would say both to thee *and* to him; but since for the soul dearly-loved by me of Osbern, our dead brother, I neither can pray to God nor ask of men as much as I would: I again impress upon thee that whatever concerning him I write to Master Gondulph, to thee I say it. The lord abbot and all the brethren of our congregation greet thee and Master Gondulph, thanking you much for your gifts, but still more for your excellent conduct, and application to learning. Farewell: and hold the soul of Osbern to be my second self; think of it not as his, but as mine.

6. TO HUGO.

Brother Anslem, for Hugo his master honoured for holiness, and brother loved for his charity, wishes that he may pass this life prosperously in holiness, and the next in happiness for eternity.

I am answering the letter of your blessedness briefly, because I have just now little opportunities of dictating much. If you are really unable to hold your office amicably with him with whom you have to do, it is better for both, that you humbly asking, and he granting, leave, you should be relieved from the anxiety of that charge, than that both disagreeing under that burden, should irritate each other. But if he should refuse to grant you leave, it were better for you to bear the burden even uselessly in obedience than to reject it impatiently in disobedience. And if you have found that by your advice he is not improved but irritated, it were even better "keeping silence even from good words," that "so far as in you lies," according to the Apostle, "you should live peaceably with all men," than that by saying good words to no purpose you should give occasion to the ill-disposed. For since the headship of the charge was committed not to you but to him, it will not be required of you if, your advice being neglected, by the shepherd's fault the flock is not well governed. Nor is it advisable, so long as he does not compel you to turn from good to evil, for you to venture (unless he allowed it) to evade that subjection and life of perseverance which you once freely promised, by changing your abode; that is if you find yourself enabled by any plan or means at all to live aright under him. For if his rule, though in some ways an impediment to your progress, doth yet not obstruct the way of salvation, it is in the hidden judgment of God sufficient that, judg-

ing yourself unworthy of greater favour, you should live humbly without sin under fewer blessings, rather than strive after greater by mortal sin. For no one ought willingly to sacrifice his life unless it happen that he cannot otherwise escape a worse death. The Almighty God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, "Wonderful, Counsellor," and Angel of great counsel, so teach you to do His will, that He may give you to see His glory, holy master and brother beloved.

7. TO GONDULPH.

His own to his own, friend to friend, Anselm to Gondulph, wishes through love of bliss perseverance in holiness, and for the reward of holiness an eternity of blessedness.

And now, this Gondulph and Anselm is witness that I and thou are never so in want of each other as that we must needs prove our mutual affection by letters. For since thy spirit and mine can never bear to be absent from each other, but unceasingly are intertwined; we mutually need nothing from each other, save that we are not together in bodily presence. But why should I depict to thee on paper my affection, since thou dost carefully keep its exact image in the cell of thy heart? For what is thy love for me but the image of mine for thee? Therefore thy known wish induces me to write somewhat to thee on account of our bodily separation; but since we are known to each other by the presence together of our spirits, I know not what to say to thee, save—may God do with thee as He knoweth shall please Him, and be profitable to thee. Farewell.

8. TO LAMBERT AND FALCERALD.

Brother Anselm to his honoured uncles, much-loved uncles and kind guardians, Lambert and Folcerald : despise earthly good for heavenly, and take unto yourselves heavenly for earthly.

Although time and space, by the disposition of the Divine Will, separate us, yet nothing has nor shall have power to lessen in me the desire for your affection, God's grace protecting me. And since I am assured that a like affection for me dwells in no different manner in your hearts, I have no doubt but that just as I wish to know all about you, so you always wish to be informed as to all which concerns me. But you will be able to learn and notify it more fully by means of the bearer of this note, than the small space of a letter would allow. But what an affection my heart bears you, may He from whom cometh and to whom tendeth and to whom alone is known that affection, so show to you and convince you of, as He knows is profitable for you. But yet,—if I may say somewhat out of the abundance of my heart :—I fear nothing more for you than lest you should go on in the love of the world, and of a worldly life, sleeping unto the end ; and (with abundance of possessions) should find nothing or little in your hands, when you shall have awoke again after the end.

9. TO LANFRANC.

Brother Anselm to his respected lord and father, Archbishop Lanfranc, his own because his own.

As Zacharias the prophet, to exalt the authority of his prophecy, repeats at almost every verse : " Thus saith the Lord ; " so to impress upon myself who it is that speaks, to whom. and in what spirit, I like our

letters which I so often address to your paternal highness, to bear stamped at their very beginning, "Lord and Master," and "His own because his own." This I so, I don't say I know how to copy, but I have so deeply engraved it in my mind that whatever I intend when I begin my salutation, this always appears in the completed sentence. Wherefore, since I so often write to you under this title, I now asking, complain, and complaining, ask, why you now write back to me so: but I know not to what lord and father of yours; signify it at the beginning of the letter. But if you are writing to your servant and son, why seek to subvert by a relative opposition what you cannot destroy by the opposite negation? I beg, therefore, that as often as I receive a letter from your mightiness, I may either see plainly whom you write to; or may not see whom you do not write to.

10. TO MAURICE.

Brother Anselm to his beloved brother and son Maurice.

I hear that you are studying under master Arnulph. If it is true, I am very glad, for I always longed for your improvement, as you partly know, by experience; and that never more than now. I have also heard that he is very strong in grammar; and you know that it was always tiresome to me to teach boys grammar, so that I did it much less than would have been useful for you. I know that under me you went back in parsing. Therefore, I exhort and pray, and desire you, as a beloved son, that whatever you read with him, and whatever else you can read, you try to parse most carefully. Nor be ashamed to learn in this way even what you think you do not need, as though you had but just

begun : for by this means you will grasp more firmly what you do know, when you hear it repeated ; and if you make any mistake, you will correct it by his teaching, and what you do not know you will learn. But if he reads nothing with you, and it is your own neglect, I am vexed ; and I desire that, so far as may be, you should be fully employed, and principally upon Virgil and the other authors which you did not read with me, except those in which there is anything shameful. And if you are for any cause prevented from reading them with him, at least try to do this : take the books which you have read, as many as you can, and at what times you can, and parse them right through carefully from beginning to end, as I advised above. Show also to that same dear friend of mine this letter, wherein I in a few words both beseech him to give you much affection and beg he will show you how I can trust in his real friendship, and point out that what he does for you, he doth for no other than for this my heart. For long have we been certain of our mutual friendship ; if indeed he deigns to remember what I shall never forget. Greet him as respectfully as you can from me ; and the lord prior, and my lord Gondulph, and the other masters and brethren who are with you. Farewell, my sweetest son, and despise not the advice of him who loveth thee with fatherly affection.

II. TO HENRY.

Brother Anselm to his master and beloved friend, the reverend prior Henry : sow thou holiness on earth, to reap in heaven felicity.

My beloved one, your master Osbern who returns now to you, does so freely acknowledge and execrate the perversity of his former life ; and, so far as from the

dealings I have had with him I could openly or secretly ascertain, he is so inflamed with the love of a praiseworthy life, that we may not without cause esteem his inner man to be either already changed, or without doubt easily to be transformed. And it is known to your prudence that there is never so great need of kindness as in the early, incomplete conversion from a bad to a good life, lest the immature virtues which may be nourished and brought to full growth by the consolation of kindness should be checked, or quite crushed, by austere hardness. Therefore I beg of your beloved holiness, since wisdom in government becomes you, and it is expedient for the aforesaid brother; that, overlooking all his past perversity, you would nourish the infancy of his good intentions with the milk of perceptible kindness, lest perchance (which I expect not) he might, not from weakness display, but from malice fall back into, his former wickedness. For in no way do you better prove to him that under the severity which he felt in his error there was hidden love than by its being shown at the time the error is corrected. Finally, as it seems to me, no one ought to be driven into the way of living virtuously, save he who cannot be attracted into it. Also, I pray, or rather require as a debt which friends owe to each other, that, as I desire to love all those who are dear to your beloved fraternity, so Master Osbern in obtaining my affection, may greatly rejoice in yours for him having increased. Farewell.

12. TO RAINALD.

To his revered lord and father, the Abbot Rainald, brother Anselm sendeth greeting.

The little work, which you so earnestly beg me to send you from so far, I certainly should not send you

at all, could I avoid yielding to your will. But I fear lest, should it fall into the hands of some who are more eager to blame what they hear than to understand it, and they chanced to read there something which they had not before heard or perceived, they would at once declare that I had written things hitherto unheard of and contrary to the truth. And then, since I being so far away could not answer them, not only will they, while rejecting truth, think they are defending it; but they will persuade others who rashly believe before they hear what it is they are censuring, that I am an assertor of that which is false. I have indeed already borne very hasty blame from some such, because of what, following St Augustine, I said about the Person and the Substance of God. These however now know that they blamed inconsiderately, and rejoice to know now, by this means, what formerly they did not perceive. For they did not know that it cannot, in the literal sense, be said that there are in God three Persons, any more than three Substances; but for the same reason, for want of a word literally signifying that plurality which is understood in the most Holy Trinity, the Latins say we must believe there are three Persons in one Substance: while the Greeks no less faithfully confess three Substances in one Essence. Wherefore I earnestly beg of your holiness not to show the little work to wordy and quarrelsome, but to sensible and peaceful, people. And if it should happen that any so find therein any fault as that his argument seem to you worthy of being answered: I beg of you to tell me what the objection is, and with what argument it is sustained, so that the peace of charity and the love of truth being both preserved, either I by his criticism, or he by my answer, may be set right.

13. TO GILBERT.

Brother Anselm to his master, brother, friend, Gilbert : the friend of his beloved one : that which writing cannot express.

Sweet are to me, dearest friend, the proofs of thy affection : but they can in nowise relieve my heart, deprived of thee, from the longing for thy beloved self. Assuredly, wert thou to send every aromatic scent, all glittering metals, every precious stone, all kinds of woven beauty, it would reject them ; nay, my heart could never be healed of its wound but by receiving the other half of itself which has been torn away from it. Witness the grief of my heart when thinking thereon ; the tears which dim my eyes and fall down my face and on my fingers as I write. And indeed thou knowest as myself my love towards thee, but certainly I was ignorant of it. He who separated us from one another, He has taught me how much I loved thee : truly that man has no knowledge of good or evil who does not experience both. For never having made trial of thine absence I was unaware how sweet it was to me to be with, and how bitter to be without, thee. But thou hast in consequence of our separation another present with thee whom thou lovest not less, but more ; whilst thou art removed, thou I say from me art removed, and no one is given me in thy place. Since, then, thou art rejoicing in thy consolation, for the wound is gaping in my soul only, perchance they who are enjoying thy society are offended at my saying this to thee. But if they rejoice while keeping that which they wished for, why should they forbid him to lament who has not that which still he loves ? They will excuse me, seeing me in themselves. Moreover, can you understand how compassionately, how feelingly,

they can do this, and whence my grief can be lessened, which no one will console who can, and no one can who would. But may He who can do all that He wills, so comfort me as that He may sadden no one ; so may He sadden no one, as that He may preserve for thee the love everywhere felt, unimpaired.

14. TO ADELIDE.

To the Lady Adelide, honoured for the nobility of her royal birth, but more noble by the power of her virtuous life, brother Anselm : may your earthly rank be so adorned with the adornment of virtues that you may attain to union with the King of kings in eternal felicity.

As to the garlands of psalms which your highness deigned to require of me, my lowliness, though faithful to you, could not carry out your request either more quickly or any better. For my obedience seconded your command the more devotedly that that command proceeded from holy devotion. Which devotion I wish and pray that Almighty God will so preserve and nourish for us as that He may refresh your mind on earth by His tenderest love, and in heaven by the blissful vision of Him. The small and worthless gift which my poor littleness sends to you let not your rich nobility despise. If, indeed, it is not encrusted with gold and gems, it is most certainly entirely composed with loving fidelity and given with faithful love. After the garland of psalms are added seven prayers, of which the first is not so much to be called a prayer as a meditation, wherein the soul of the sinner briefly contemplates itself ; and contemplating despises, and despising humbles, humbling agitates itself with fear of the last judgment, and being thoroughly agitated, breaks forth into groans and tears. But among the prayers of holy Stephen and Mary

Magdalene there are some which, if they are said in the inmost heart, when it is at leisure, rather tend to arouse love. But with all seven I, the servant and friend of your soul, exhort you to take heed, however well you may do it, with what humility and with what a feeling of fear and love the sacrifice of prayer should be offered. Farewell ; both now and always farewell in God, and keep the little book sent as an earnest of my fidelity before God and of my prayers, such as they are. I will mention at the end of my letter that which the whole letter is meant to inculcate. All which will have to be left, despise, even while you have it, with an uplifted mind ; and that alone which can blessedly be kept for ever, strive for with humble mind so long as you have it not. That of which I desire to convince you, I pray the Holy Spirit to convince you of, when I say for the third time, Farewell.

Part 33.

WRITTEN WHEN ABBOT OF BEC.

15. TO WILLIAM.

Brother Anselm, called Abbot of Bec, to his loved and longed-for (would it were loving and longing) William : despise dangerous and miserable vanities, and seek the secure and blessed verity.

So completely, oh my beloved whom I yearn after, has Almighty God filled my soul (by His grace, not through my own merits) with love for thee, that, agitated between the longing for thy salvation and the fear of thy peril, being excited day and night by anxiety for thee, it cannot rest ; blessed be God for His gifts, and

would that He might take away from thee thy hatred for thine own soul even as He hath given unto me the yearning for thy salvation. Bear with me, dear friend, and endure him who loveth thee, should I appear to thee importunate, and speak to thee more sternly than thou wouldst wish. For the love of thy soul compelleth mine, nor alloweth it to suffer that thou shouldst hate that which it loveth with an ever-present love. Receive, therefore, most dear one, with a love which I pray God to impart to thee, the sayings of him who loveth thee. Thou, dearly beloved, art what love sayeth with pain, and grief sayeth lovingly, who (which may God put away from thee) hast hated that soul of thine beloved of mine ; for "whoso loveth iniquity hateth his own soul," Ps. xi. 6 (in the Latin). Iniquity of a truth, and many iniquities are they with which thou dost so eagerly make thyself happy, oh my beloved. Iniquity, and many iniquities are they whither the force of worldly things, rushing to ruin, impels thee, my loved one. For the bloody confusion of war is iniquity. The ambition of worldly vanity is iniquity. The insatiable desire for false advantages and false riches is iniquity. Towards these, alas ! I see him whom I so long to keep back by loving him, drawn by the subtle enemy deceiving his heart. Oh God, friend and deliverer of man, let not the enemy draw Thy servant away ! Thou tellest me, beloved brother : "I do not love these things, but I love my brother who is entangled in them : and therefore I hasten to be involved therein with him, that I may help and guard him." Alas ! wretched grief from the miserable error of the sons of Adam ! Why, oh man, sayest thou not rather : "I love not these things, but Christ my God ; and therefore flying from these I hasten to Him that I may be helped and guarded by Him." And so thou, having heard the crash of the

world falling into ruins upon thy brother, and disregarding Christ who calleth thee, dost rush under that ruin that a mortal man, a worm of earth, may beneath so confused a weight and such overwhelming confusion help and protect another worm of earth, another mortal. Answer me, brother: who shall help and guard thee helping and guarding him? God, whom thou carest less to follow than that brother of thine! Christ, who calleth thee, thou scornest to follow in peace and in thine own country and among thy relations and friends that an "heir of God" and "joint-heir with Him" thou mayest possess the kingdom of heaven; and by such and so many difficult rugged ways, through rough seas and stormy tempests thou hastenest to thy brother amid the confusion of war, that thou mayest see him (to suppose something great) bearing rule over the Greeks. Now thinkest thou that God will help and guard him better by thee than without thee? or thee on his account more than on his own? rather much the less would He do it: for He is wroth if He seeth any one loved by any other more than that other loveth Him. But perchance thou sayest: "If I begin to follow Christ, I fear lest on account of my weakness I should fall away." How over and over again one must grieve and weep at the error of the sons of men! They fear not failure in following after those things which always do fail; rather they run after them with all their heart; and they venture not to follow after God who never fails them and promises them His aid, fearing lest they fail. They rejoice in falling away that they may fail, and fear to advance lest they fall away. Believe, I exhort thee, in the counsel of God, and commit thyself wholly to the help of God, and thou shalt experience no failure in His service. Last, beloved and longed-for, and dear friend, "Cast thy burden upon the Lord," and

be assured, since the Holy Spirit so promises, that "He shall nourish thee." Delay not thy so great good, and fulfil my yearning for thee, that I may have thee for my companion in following Christ; and that we may strive together so that as thou seest me, so I may see thee a companion in Christ's inheritance, which He gives. Be not ashamed of breaking the chains of vain intentions; since it is no shame, but an honour, to pass into the liberty of the truth. Be ashamed of loving God less than the treasurer of B——, who as a young man of thy age was self-indulgent and handsome, very rich, of noble birth, and excessively fond of worldly pleasure; and when once formerly I was, as now, in England, he coming to Bec for I know not what cause, being moved by the sudden grace of the Holy Spirit to retreat forthwith, bound himself to remain here as a monk, having taken at once the tonsure and our habit, affirming that he was now happier than ever before in his life. Blush not to confess thyself one of Christ's poor, for thine will be the kingdom of heaven. Fear not to become the soldier of so great a King, for the King Himself will be beside thee in every danger. Delay no longer to enter in this life on the road which thou hast chosen; lest perchance in the other life thou be hindered from receiving the crown of blessedness. I advise, counsel, pray, adjure, enjoin thee as one most dear to abandon that Jerusalem which now is no vision of peace, but of tribulation, where with bloody hands men contend for the treasures of Constantinople and Babylon: and to enter upon the road to the heavenly Jerusalem, which is the vision of peace, where thou shalt find a treasure only to be received by those who despise the others. I end this long letter unwillingly, since out of the abundance of the heart my mouth desireth to speak much to thee. May Almighty God,

who in that other one whom I spoke of just now, in whom I desired to rejoice with a like but lesser longing, since with less hope than I have in thee, worked more than my heart hoped, not disappoint my greater hope of thee and my greater longing for thee. And if God should inspire thy heart before my return : God is at Bec with our brethren when I am absent as when I am there. God direct thy heart according to His will, and gratify my desire of thee according to His mercy. Amen.

16. TO HENRY.

Brother Anselm to his lords and friends, and most dear brethren, the Lord Prior Henry and the others in the Monastery of Canterbury, continually serving God in the Church of Christ ; may you ever advance to higher things in the holy life you have chosen, and never fall away.

Moses, our beloved brother, who from youthful levity, and being deceived by another's cunning, deserted the shelter of your holy companionship (like a son of our mother Eve, who being in paradise beguiled, lost the happiness of paradise while yet sheltered in that august retreat) ; yet has neither driven hogs to pasture, being compelled by hunger, nor desired to be fed with the husks which the swine did eat ; but with that mental food yet unexhausted which he had received at your spiritual table, has put in at our monastery as into a well-known harbour, after many wanderings over the seas of the world. Although, being conscious of his fault, he fears the severity of justice, as the Apostle says, "no one ever hated his own flesh : " yet he desires to be received again in whatsoever way it may be, into the flock wherein he was suckled and brought up. And

since he reckons himself not worthy to be called your son or your brother as yet, he desired at least to become as one of your hired servants so only he may attain to be among you : and for his attendant whom he himself drew on to consent to and obey his pleasure, he fears so much more than for his own flesh, as that if the other should be visited with any penalty by a just decision, he will regard it as to be paid by his own soul. Also as to that money belonging to another which was received on condition of repayment, and which he being deceived by some one else incautiously spent, he is so uneasy that unless by the help of your bounty and by leave to ask in whatsoever quarter whence he might get assistance, he should succeed in freeing the other from that debt, his spirit can never hope to be freed from this shame. But since he cannot think his own prayers alone either could or should be sufficient to obtain so many and so great things, he begs me, your servant, since just now he has no one more attached to you, or whom he more depends on as being able to obtain anything from you to intercede for him. Therefore, since there is no more urgent intercession than the offering of skin for skin, of life for life, as saith the Lord : "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends," let your love understand that Master Moses, from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head, is covered entirely with the skin of your servant brother Anselm, and his mouth is mine. If, therefore, there should be anyone among you whom I have ever wilfully offended, let him first scourge my skin in Moses for that aforesaid fault, and deny food to my mouth. But after that fault I commend my skin to brother Moses to guard as he loveth his own ; and to you that you not merely spare it. For if for his fault my skin be struck or severely injured, of him will I require it ; but if any should spare

him, I will be grateful to him. And as to his attendant, know that I have no other skin, since his safety is mine: his soul is my soul. But since what he asks as to the money is easy to do, it will not, as I think, be hard to obtain from your mercifulness. We wish to hear your decision as to all these points by a letter from you before he sets out to return: not that he would refuse to hasten even towards suffering, should you so desire him; but because he desires to return in good hope, joyfully, to those whom he loves. Farewell.

Part 333.

WRITTEN WHEN ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

17. TO THE MONKS OF BEC.

Brother Anselm, to his best-beloved, and much longed-for brethren and sons, the monks of Bec: in heart belonging to them after God: may you ever be ruled by the counsel and enjoy the consolation of the Holy Spirit.

All that you have written or said in common, or that as individuals you have out of the affection of your hearts sent to him whom you love and long for, and which neither tongue can express, nor pen, is all deeply and distinctly graven upon my heart. There is besides much else proceeding from my heart and mind which I would were in like manner written and graven on your hearts. For there, in the most secret recesses of my being, I arrange and re-arrange, turn it over, again and again, before God. With what feeling I do it, He seeth, both within and without; to this testify my tears and

exclamations, and the sound of my heart's groaning, such as I never remember any grief to have drawn from me before the day whereon the heavy lot of the archbishopric of Canterbury was seen to fall upon me, which words and groans I am certain were not of set purpose simulated, but the swords of grief piercing my heart extorted, and still extort them. Of this it was impossible that those should be ignorant who beheld my face on that day when the bishops and abbots who dragged me to the church carried me off objecting and protesting, so that it might have appeared doubtful whether madmen were leading a sane man or sane men one out of his mind; except that they were singing, and I for pallor was in hue more like a dead than a living man: nor they who after that day heard me from afar lamenting in unusual fashion (my mind being overcome with grief when I had leisure to reflect both on your affection and the burden imposed upon my weakness), and seeing me feared that I should lose either my life or my senses, on account of this fear sprinkled me with holy water and gave it me to drink. Perhaps I ought to be ashamed because the wounds of grief have so prostrated my soul, entirely absorbed as it is in its separation from your souls and its own grave peril, and so prostrate it still, that it often emits heavy groans, with gushing tears. But of a truth I do not blush to confess that the fear of God and love of men, chiefly of you, have thus wounded and do thus wound it. All which things bear my conscience witness as to the longing and desire with which I looked forward to the archiepiscopal dignity and burden, and the joy with which I accept it. However, if any do think of me otherwise than as my conscience deems of itself in the sight of God, I am consoled by this, that it ought to be a very small thing to me that I should be judged of them or of man's judgment. And, also, that we have

to pass through this life through evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true, as unknown and yet well-known, so only that my conscience accuse me not before God. I have hitherto resisted this election of myself which was made violently, holding myself fast to the truth : but now whether I will or not I am compelled to confess that the decisions of God resist my efforts ever more and more, and now I see no way by which I can fly from them either without serious evil, both temporal and spiritual, on either hand, or without God's anger could I or any other at all impede the intention He has formed. Wherefore, being vanquished, not so much by the power of man as by that of God, against whom no wisdom or strength may avail, I feel impelled to follow this course only: after having prayed as much as I could and striven that if it were possible, this cup should pass from me, that I should not drink it, seeing my prayer repulsed and my struggles to be unavailing, I should say to God, "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." But since on either hand I fear God, nor either way love aught save God and men for God, I think there is nothing safer for me in so dangerous a position as, setting aside my own inclination and will, to give myself up, both in feeling and will, entirely to God. And although in this matter it be very hard for me to give and for you to receive a decision which is against your feelings and mine, yet since I and you belong more to God than I to you, or you to me: "whether we live or die, we are the Lord's:" I yet dare not in God's business, and in such straits, withhold my opinion as before God from those whom I am bound to advise. I therefore advise you my best-beloved and most affectionate ones, to let nothing make you persistently oppose God; for "rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft;" and it is very hard to kick against the goad of God. For

things have undoubtedly by the decision of God come to this pass : that I must needs, if God shall deign to effect aught of good by my means, serve and be useful to, you and many others ; or I must be of no use at all either to myself, or you, or others, not the will, but the power, being wanting.

And if this should happen through your obstinacy, you would cause my old age to be worn away and fail from inconsolable sadness, on account of the great and varied evil which hence would follow and justly appear to be imputed to you and me even by those who do not, however, foresee them. But if you knew what evils the delay has already occasioned to bodies and souls, and how detested it and those who cause it are by the best and wisest of the English, and even by the whole nation, I think you also (if you are not inhuman) would hate that delay. Perhaps what I say may appear strange to you, and many who do not see into my heart, and who are ready to judge the interior consciences of others, which they cannot discern, will judge me wrongly somehow because I speak to you thus about this affair. But I speak before God, to whom I lay bare my life, and " put my trust in Him, that He shall bring it to pass," for my conscience doth not accuse me in His sight of being drawn to speak thus by the desire of earthly riches or dignity. If henceforth any should think otherwise of me, I shall hold him to be an adversary of the truth, and God shall be my witness against him. Farewell ; and may God, who guideth the weak in judgment, and learneth His way to such as are not stiff-necked but gentle, direct your minds and wills to a right judgment concerning this business.

18. TO THE MONKS OF BEC.

To his dearly-beloved Lord, Prior Baldric, and the other servants of God living in the monastery of Bec ; brother Anselm, their servant and fellow-servant : may you ever be ruled by the divine counsel, and protected by the divine help.

Although the divine will separates me from you in body, not without deep and pious grief to my heart, yet I pray God that the affection which He gave and wherewith my soul embraces you in its secret recesses, may continue ; through which, God approving, I shall always be your servant ; since I shall ever, so far as God shall give me the power, be devoted to your interests. For though that affection be so great that often when I reflect on our separation, so against our will and still so incomplete, my heart forthwith swells and is agitated with an internal tempest as the sea with winds, and my eyes rain down tears, yet is it sweeter to me to bear all that through my love than to detach myself therefrom. For God knows, in whose sight I speak according to my conscience, that I more loved you in God and for your own sake, and to be myself with you : that you to me were more than the distinction, or power, or earthly possessions which I had on your account. Wherefore I am more distressed by your sadness at whatever need (if any such there be) which you may feel of me, than consoled by any earthly exaltation or opulence. Even now in this very address which I am making to you by dictation, tears which my eyes cannot restrain are my witnesses, as also sobs bursting from my throat and choking it up, as they overflow from the groaning of my heart, interrupting the writer by delaying the words from my mouth. However, there are, as I hear, some (but who they may

be, God knoweth) who either out of malice pretend, or out of mistake suspect, or are impelled by undiscerning grief to say, that I was attracted to the archbishopric by depraved avarice rather than compelled to accept it by religious necessity. These I know not how to convince of the position of my conscience in this matter, if my life and conversation does not satisfy them. For I have already so lived for thirty-three years in the monastic habit (that is, three without office, fifteen as prior, the same number of years as abbot), and that all good people who knew me loved me, not from any efforts of mine but by God's grace, and those the most who knew me intimately and familiarly; nor did anyone perceive in me any action to make them think I delighted in power. What then shall I do? How shall I repel and extinguish this false and hateful suspicion, lest it injure by lessening their charity the souls of those who loved me for God's sake; or of those to whom any advice or example of my littleness may have been useful, by persuading them that I am worse than I am; or even of these and others who have not known me and will hear this, by setting before them an evil example! Thou, God, who knowest all things! I do not justify myself according to the test of Thy strict judgment, since that great Apostle, who could say, "I know nothing of myself," when he had said this, added: "Yet am I not hereby justified, but he that judgeth me is the Lord." And that honest and upright man, fearing God and avoiding evil, to whom, as Thou didst Thyself testify, there was none like upon earth, said, "I am afraid of all my works:" but according as my soul understands its own conscience do I declare it before Thee, that all who shall read or hear this my letter, may know it as witnessed by Thee, and believe it. Thou, Lord, seest, and be Thou my witness, that so far as my

conscience tells me, I know not why the love of anything which Thy servant, a scorner of the world, ought to despise, should attract or bind me to the acceptance of the archbishopric to which I was dragged, being borne suddenly away; and also, that did obedience and charity, both which on account of Thee I would guard so far as Thou hast given them, allow it, I would rather choose to serve and live as a monk, under a superior, and receive from him spiritual advice and bodily necessities, than to rule or guide other men, whether as to their souls' direction or their bodily support; or to possess earthly riches.

Thou seest, and be Thou my witness, that, so far as my conscience tells me, I know not how I could free myself from that design of those who elected me; and that Thy fear and love and the obedience which I owe to Thee and to Thy Church, compel me, bind me, so that I may not dare obstinately to contradict their religious entreaties and the great desire they manifest to me. Lord, if my conscience be deceiving me, show me myself and correct me, and "make Thy way plain before my face." And whether it please Thee, that what has been by men begun in this my election shall be completed, or not carried out, "teach me Thy way, and I will walk in Thy truth." Lord, Thou seest, as I said, my conscience: be Thou witness for me to those who may suspect otherwise of me; and make it plain to them; that they injure not their own or others' souls by judging my spirit wrongly. Now, dearly loved brethren, you have heard what my conscience tells me as to my desire for or contempt of the archbishopric. But if I knowingly lie to God, I know not to whom I should tell the truth. Should anyone henceforth, in contradiction to what I have said on this matter and called God to witness, try openly or secretly to give any

other a bad opinion of me, I think that God will be on my side against him, and will answer him for me ; but I shall console myself with the witness of God. But I am very sure that however this false suspicion shall injure the soul of any, the authors of it, should there be more than one, will have the sin upon their souls, and whether there be one or many, it will lie most on him who shall have been the chief originator. Here, however, I will briefly answer those arguments with which some of you think I might reasonably have resisted the aforesaid election. They say : " When he was obliged to become abbot, he became our servant in the name of the Lord." What do they mean by this ? They surely do not think that I swore servitude to you in the Lord's name ? for I certainly did no such thing. Is that which the Lord said : " If ye shall ask anything in My Name," to be understood as if He had said, " If ye had sworn to the Father, asking anything in My Name " ? or when we say : " Our help is in the Name of the Lord," or as often as we do or say anything in the name of the Lord, do we each time swear by the name of the Lord ? By no means : but however that may be understood, is now nothing to me ; but what I then said " in the name of the Lord," I understood and understand as in the Lord, that is, in God. What is done in God, is done according to God, that is, rightly. When, therefore, I gave myself to be your servant in the Lord's name, I gave myself to you as a servant, so far as I could according to the Lord's will. Judge ye now whether in this way I refuse, or whether I could while following God refuse to accept His disposal of me, to which whether I willed it or not I was rightly subject ; or the obedience to which I had wholly surrendered myself. For when I professed myself a monk, I yielded up myself, so that thenceforward I could not be my own,

that is, I could not live according to my own will, but according to obedience ; now true obedience is either to God, or to the Church of God and those who are placed highest below God. This obedience, then, I neither abjured, nor yielded up ; but rather fulfilled it as I said, " in the name of the Lord." Learn then what it was that I then gave you. This only : that I could not at my own will withdraw myself from your service, nor seek to be withdrawn from it, unless compelled thereto by that guidance and obedience, to which I was first subject by the ordinance of God. But as to what I did : had I done otherwise than as I said, of a verity you would not be monks, were you to exact of me aught that I had promised you, when it was contrary to God's will. Never before you had allowed me to be promoted to the archbishopric, did I explain to anyone this surrender of myself, but I used to object it as an insuperable obstacle, lest I should be promoted ; until I perceived that those who wished to remove me persisted with such constancy in their determination as not to understand that anything could be in the way, and also that they asserted that on no account either would or should they desist from what they had begun. Some also say that I had been given to you according to God ; and that from those over whom I was lawfully placed I cannot rightly allow myself to be removed, nor ought they to yield me up. St Martin was an abbot according to the will of God, and yet he was taken away from his monks and clergy, and placed over monks and laymen and women. I think that Peter the Apostle sat in the episcopal chair at Antioch by God's appointment ; and yet no one says that he did wrong when, deserting it, he went to Rome to seek a larger harvest. Can we therefore say that these did not love their first disciples, or that they afterwards loved them less ? or

that God scorned and deserted them because they had, as to bodily presence, deserted those others? This, at any rate, brethren, cannot be asserted. I compare not myself to them in greatness; but I am not on that account to be condemned if God doth with me somewhat as He did with them. Perchance someone may say: "Thou art not a man whom so great a charge befits." This is exactly what I assert with heart and mouth concerning myself. Then they say: "Whatever thou art, we want thee; we do not release thee." Some again call to mind that I used to say that I was unwilling to live except with you, and that I would never have any other charge but that of Bec. But I used to say this according to my own will and inclination and with the idea of trusting in my own defence and reply should I be called to another charge. But what, if God orders that I shall even live for, and serve, others? Ought I rebelliously to resist? Both I and you belong more to God than I to you, and you to me. The prince of the apostles said to the Lord: "Thou shalt never wash my feet." That was his will. But what said the Lord? "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me." And what Peter? "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." But God did not condemn him because he changed his own purpose for the divine purpose; rather He humbled Himself at Peter's feet. I had reckoned on my strength and cleverness to defend myself with; but God was stronger and more able than me, and therefore my idea came to nothing. Some one may perhaps say I have spoken foolishly, as if justifying myself and proving myself worthy of the archbishopric; but my false slanderers have constrained me lest they should infect you or some one else with the poison of their untruth: nor do I aim at proving myself worthy of the arch-

bishopric, but at clearing myself of a falsely imputed crime. But as to these things of which I have so far spoken, let this now suffice. I will however add somewhat for your consolation.

Thus, I beg of you, my much-loved brethren, not to be grieved above measure at my absence. Truly your sadness is mine, and your consolation is mine also. Let not your hope be in man, but in God, since if I have been of any use to you, it was not of myself, but of Him. Many of you, and perhaps all, came to Bec because of me; but none of you became a monk because of me; nor from hope of reward from me did you devote yourselves to God; from Him to whom you gave all you had, expect all you need. "Cast your burden upon the Lord, and He shall nourish you." Turn all your anxiety towards serving Him: and He will take all care for your support. For myself, I pray that you will not love me the less, because God doth His will with me: and that I may not for this be utterly lost, if I have sometimes wished to do your will, because I neither dare, nor ought to, nor can, resist God, nor do I see so far how I could withdraw myself from the Church of the English, except by resisting God. Let it be plain that you have not loved me for yourselves alone, but also for God, and myself. Pray for me, that whatever may become of me, may by the grace of God be brought to a good end. From this time forth, give up looking upon me as your abbot; but know me to be your loving friend and most anxious for you so long as I live, God keeping me firm in those feelings which He gave me concerning you. But I will never give up the power of binding and loosing, and of advising you, which I had over you, so long as the abbot who shall succeed me, and you who will be under him, shall yield it to me: I can hardly say it for weeping. To our Lord Jesus

Christ and His righteous mother Mary, and to blessed Peter, to whom He commended His sheep, and to Saint Benedict (according to whose rule you professed obedience): and to the other saints of God I commend you, most dearly-loved brothers mine, and by their merits and intercessions may He who redeemed you be your abbot, your guardian: may He cause you after this life to live in His kingdom. There may His goodness grant me to behold you, and with you to rejoice eternally, who is God blessed for ever. Amen. Many among you, whom I used to cherish with such sweet and familiar affection that to each one it might seem as if I could have loved none other so much, wonder why I do not write to each singly some remembrance of our affection. But they must know that not my forgetfulness, but their number, occasions this. And perhaps I shall do so when it shall be more convenient, and if not to all, at least to some. At present I will say only this to them: that they should remember I loved them for nothing else but because they loved God and their own souls. They are my witnesses that I always claim this from them and from you all; for this I implore, to this exhort, this advise: let them do this, and thus will they ever keep inviolate my love for them. Hasten to raise up an abbot for yourselves, for this is needful for you. Farewell. Show this letter of mine to whomsoever you can, to clear me from those false suspicions of me; and chiefly to the reverend lords and my fathers who of His grace for God's sake, bishops, and abbots, loved me; concerning whom it hurts me most if they are deceived into suspecting there is anything bad and wrong in me. For I am unwilling to lose their affection on any account, but desire always by honouring and loving them to deserve and retain it.

19. TO FULK, BISHOP.

Brother Anselm to his dearest, much-loved friend, Fulk, bishop: mayest thou enjoy the perpetual protection and consolation of God.

I know, dear friend mine, how your loving heart must be saddened by the unlooked-for loss of the bodily presence of him whom it loves above all others, did it not wisely comfort itself with the consideration of the divine ordering of things. For as in the hearts of those who are mutually attached to each other the hope and opportunity of enjoying each other's company nourishes a certain enjoyable serenity, so does the despair of the same thing engender a grievous bitterness. My knowledge of this fact your wisdom may be aware of. For I so well know the sincerity of your love towards me, that I am sure you are not ignorant of the truth of my love for you and for those to whom I have expressed it, and most of all for the monks of Bec. For none so truly understands the real attitude of a soul as he who feels for it a true friendship. Consider, therefore; what genuine gladness can there be in my heart, which is saddened by the irreparable loss in this life of the bodily presence of so many friends longing for me and longed for by me? Each one of these grieves for the loss of my companionship in the body, and my spirit grieves for all, since it is unwillingly and so unexpectedly separated from the presence of them all. For although I may seem to be gladdened by a greater number who show like attachment to me in England, this can in nowise root out of my heart the former love planted so long ago and cherished for so long. But true affection does not love its former friends less, even if it be unable to show itself outwardly, when it is extended to a greater number; just as neither does it fear to be less

loved by the earlier, if they be true friends, when it obtains the affection of a greater number. And yet I find a certain comfort in the number of present friends for the vexation I endure from the absence of the earlier ones, that is however unable to cause me not to sorrow for those who the more they love me so much the more are they hurt by grief for the absence of their friend whom they love. I enjoy writing to my dear friend about the truth of my affection, and treating at length of its power: but since the brevity of a letter will not allow of this, I must now (although I should like to say more) change the subject. Some, as I have heard, suspect me of obtaining the archbishopric, to which I was dragged with grief and fear, through covetousness. Whether they do this by their own mistake or by the persuasion of others, may God, who sees that they are mistaken and wrong, have mercy on them. I do not defend myself to my brother beloved, who having known me long in familiar intercourse, undoubtedly must have learnt and believed in my freedom from desire of worldly honours. You knew this all the more certainly the more fearlessly you committed yourself and all your life to my guidance and judgment. But I defend myself before those, whoever they are, who shall read this letter, that they may know what my conscience witnesses with me before God, and that when need shall arise, they may defend me before others who are not well-informed, if not for my sake, yet on account of God's cause. For the weak brethren in God's Church are much injured by the opinion of any wickedness in any man, whether the report be a true or a false one; and most of all if it be of wickedness in him who is so placed in the Catholic Church as that by word and example he should and can be of use to others. Therefore be it known to all,

as my conscience tells me in the sight of God, whom to invoke as witness to a lie is, I know, a crime, that I was not drawn or bound to the archbishopric over the English by the desire of anything whatsoever which a servant of God, a despiser of the world, ought to spurn ; but the fear of God compelled me to suffer myself to be dragged, although grieved and afraid, from the Church of God. Also, that if I could, consistently with the obedience and love which I owe to God and to His Church, my mother, because of Him, I would rather and more gladly choose to be under an abbot and regular discipline in monkish poverty and humility, and to obey, and serve, than to reign as a secular prince in this world, or to govern, or to possess either archbishopric or bishopric, or an abbey, or to be set over any men at all whether for the government of their souls or the sustenance of their bodies, in possession of great opulence whether in lands or worldly goods. This I do not ascribe so much to my own virtue as to this, that I know myself to be so little useful, strong, vigorous, prudent, or just, that it would suit me better, and be more advisable for me to be under obedience than to be set over others, to obey than to give orders, to serve than to rule, to minister than to be ministered unto. I am obliged to acknowledge this about myself ; but I would rather say what I think of myself in all simplicity without any double-dealing than allow other men to sin against me, or to follow a bad example through their ignorance and their mistakes concerning me. Whoever believes what I here say of myself, it is certain will not be mistaken in believing thus, if my conscience deceives me not before God ; and as to him who does not believe it, it is a truth that he, judging of me falsely and rashly, is mistaken. May Almighty God cause you to enjoy in this life and in the life that is to be, His unfailing protection and comfort. Amen.

20. TO THE MONKS OF BEC.

Anselm, called the archbishop, to those dearest sons of his love, the youths and young men of Bec, who sent a letter to him in England : the blessing of God be yours, and my blessing so far as it is worth, if indeed it avail for aught.

I have read in your letter your most affectionate and tender love for him whom you love and who loves you ; I have read it often, and again and again the depths of my heart have been deeply and tenderly moved by the contemplation of your love, and tears flowed down my cheeks. Though the love of even one of you were sufficient to cause this, yet was it all the fuller and more overpowering because I recognised in your words the like mind and affection of others who had sent no letter. What you say, that you wish I could always be with you, I certainly myself desire. But since God disposes otherwise than we wish, nor do I perceive it to be advantageous to your souls, which I love (as your own hearts testify) like my own, that you should be able to live with me ; I pray, advise, exhort, that you patiently with me endure the divine dispensation. And thus lessening by submission your own grief you will soften mine also ; for your sadness is mine, and likewise your consolation. And this I say not only to you, oh dearest sons, but to all who like you are disquieted by the absence of their well-loved friend. I know that could you hope still in this life to spend some time in my company, it would be a great comfort to you. Then how much greater a consolation ought we to feel it, if we hope to be together, victorious and jubilant for ever in the life to come ? Be comforted, therefore, my sons, be comforted and submit yourselves to the will of God, who better knows what is good for you than you do yourselves ;

since God will give you for that patience something greater than could come to you from my presence. Be assured that no distance of place, no length of time would be able, as I hope in God, to drive from my heart the sweetness of your affection. Both to those who in their letter have told me they wished for my absolution, and to those who, although they have not written to ask for it, yet desire it, I send before God absolution and benediction, and pray that Almighty God may absolve them from all their sins and bless them in the life to come. Amen.

21. TO HUGH, ARCHBISHOP OF LYONS.

Brother Anselm, called either by command or permission of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, to his lord and dearest friend, the honoured Archbishop Hugh: mayest thou long shine in this life, and ever rejoice in the next.

If all things are to be done with prudence, those are chiefly to be carried out with wisdom wherein the only point in question is how the will of God shall be obeyed. I beseech therefore your holiness, that for God's sake, and for the love I know you bear me, you would seek counsel of God and impart it to me. To speak briefly: I think you will have heard how suddenly I was raised to the archiepiscopate. Before I gave my consent, I had plainly said that I favoured the Lord Pope Urban, and was against Guibert; and for six months I did and said all I could without sin in order to be dismissed. But being, however, on many accounts constrained by the fear of God, I yielded me sorrowfully at the command of my archbishop and to the election of the whole of England, and was consecrated; perchance I trembled with fear where no fear was; but I could not tell; God

knows, and I cannot yet be sure. Soon after, our king intending to set out for Normandy, was in need of much money. Before he had asked me for anything, by the advice of friends I promised him no small sum : God knows with what intention. He rejected it as too little, that I might give more ; but I would not. Thanks be to God, who pitying the simplicity of my heart, caused it to happen thus, lest, if I had promised nothing or little, there might have seemed a just cause for anger ; or if he had accepted it, it might have been turned into an accusation against me and a suspicion of nefarious purchase. From that time he has appeared to seek opportunities against me. I spoke about the pallium ; he would not let me fetch it so long as he had acknowledged no pope ; nor even allow me to give notice to the lord pope of this excuse for delay. I have held out until now by the advice of the bishops in order to avoid useless variance, if perchance God might cause something to happen in the meantime which should induce him to accept the lord pope. I begged that a council might be summoned, which had not been done in England for many years, in order that some things in that kingdom which seemed on no account enduring might be altered. I also warned him to correct some things which he seemed to me to be doing wrongly : openly enraged on these accounts, he told me I had lost his affection. I answered that I would rather he were offended with me, than God with him ; and with that I left his presence. The next day, returning to him, I said I would gladly give him satisfaction, if he could find in me any fault against him (of which however I was myself unaware), and I begged him to give me back his affection. He replied that he would not then either accept satisfaction, or give me back his favour, unless I would tell him what reason there was

for his restoring me to it. I saw that he wanted the money, which I would not give, lest I should seem to be acknowledging a fault which did not exist. Then he got so angry that he spoke as he ought not; and some considerable lands, which Archbishop Lanfranc had held in his father's time and that of this king undisturbed up to the day of his death, in part he gave, and in part is preparing to give, to his soldiers, under some pretext of military tenure, according to which he wills me to cede these lands: whereas I say that he has no right to compel me to cede lands which the archbishop my predecessor held so long peacefully, and which he himself gave to me on the same terms on which that other held them.

Now this is what I spoke of as military tenure. Because, before the Normans invaded England, those lands are said to have been held by English soldiers under the Archbishop of Canterbury, and these soldiers died without heirs, he, the king, wants to assert that he can constitute as their heirs exactly whom he will. Now your wisdom shall hear what I think about the foregoing, so that in your letter you may either approve of my opinion, or refute it, giving your reason: and strengthen me in that which the rather ought to be held to. But this is what I think: The king gave me the archbishopric as Archbishop Lanfranc had held it until the end of his life; and now he takes from the Church and from me that which the Church and that very archbishop so long held in peace, and which he himself gave to me. Now I am very sure that this archbishopric will be given to no one after me otherwise than as I shall hold it at the day of my death; nor, should any other king succeed in my life-time, will he grant it to me otherwise than as he shall find me holding it. Therefore if until my death I shall have held the archbishopric impaired,

in that way the Church would lose through me. If indeed it were some other person, to whom appertained not the guardianship of the Church, who did her this injury or patiently put up with it when it had been already done, it is plain enough that in the future no objection could be taken to the possessions of the Church being restored to her. But now, since the king is his own advocate, and I the guardian, what will be said in future but that since the king did it, and the archbishop by consenting confirmed it, it ought to be valid. It is therefore better for me in God's sight that I should not thus hold possession of the lands of the Church, but being, after the fashion of the apostles, poor, should do the office of a bishop as a witness to the violence done, than that by retaining that possession diminished, I should render that diminution irreparable. And, there is another thing which I think also. If, being consecrated bishop metropolitan, I do not for a whole year demand a reigning pope, nor the pall, when I can do so, I ought rightly to be removed from the honour. If I cannot effect these without losing the archbishopric, it is better for me that it should be forcibly taken from me; better indeed is it that I should reject the archbishopric than be false to the apostolic see. Thus I think, and thus I shall act, unless you write to me to say why I ought not so to act. May Almighty God so guard your sanctity by His grace in this life, that happiness may be your lot in the life that is to be. Amen.

22. *To Boso.*

Father to son, brother to brother, friend to friend,
Anselm to Boso; that, to thee.

I give thanks as if I were with thee, for thy visit by

letter, for thy advice, comfort, thy yearning affection. And the rather since although thou lovest me above all earthly things, yet thy heart more inclines towards consoling me in my trouble of which thou art aware, than to the satisfaction of thy loving affection, which is the chief thing in the world to thee. The sweetness of thy affection for me has long known the tenderness of mine for thee, and my love for thee knew long ago thy love for me. Each knows the secret heart of the other by his own, and positive experience suffers no doubt to arise in the mind of either. For our mutual love had its true source in God ; and I do not so much pray that wherein it has hitherto persevered it still may continue as confidently from hope in God declare that it will endure. I cannot send you frequent letters, as your affection and mine would desire ; since even if I had the opportunity, I should fear to give some occasion for violence from the king, who hates everything belonging to me and those who love me ; both towards our Church and towards the bearer, if he by any means should have knowledge of it. The book I have written, of which the title is, "*Cur Deus Homo ?*" is being copied by Master Eadmer, my very dear son and the staff of my old age, a monk of Bec, to whom my friends are indebted in proportion to their love for me, or rather to the church of Bec, whose son he is. Since for the reason I have before mentioned, I cannot write to the lord abbot of our church, I commend to thee the memory of myself, that in the hearts of those whom I loved (they bear me witness) as my own soul, and God giving me grace will love as long as I live, thy earnest putting in mind may deepen it and never suffer it to wear out. I hear that Master Fulk, my cousin, is with you. If he is, I entreat you all for him as for my own flesh. For he is an exile for God's sake, and long ago he became a monk at Bec.

Greet him, and be to him in my stead. May Almighty God bless thee, body and soul. Greet those whom thou knowest and thinkest well to greet.

23. TO LANFRID, ABBOT OF ST ULMAR.

Anselm, called Archbishop, to his dearly-beloved brother Lanfrid, Lord - Abbot of the Monastery of Saint Ulmar; may the divine wisdom guide and the divine help aid thee.

Concerning your urgent request pressing me to try by arguments and petitions to obtain leave from your bishop for you to give up the post of abbot where the divine will has placed you, I have myself thought much and often, and spoken to others from whom I hoped to receive spiritual counsel; and I have come to the conclusion, that although on account of the pity which I feel, my brother, for your sadness, I should greatly rejoice with you if by the mercy of God, with the advice and permission of your archbishop and bishop, you should attain your desire, it would yet be dangerous for me to request and advise so unusual a measure. Further: I fear lest I should err not a little if at my instance the place committed to your charge should be left without any ruler and be more completely, nay, altogether, ruined, both as to goods, government, and order. For if your presence there were of no other use than this: that wickedness cannot reign there, or act freely without any check, so that things are not so bad there as they would be if it were without a head, either as to orderly life or waste of goods; yet you could not complain as if you were living uselessly where you were repressing so much evil both bodily and spiritual, thus keeping that place from ruin. Then your prudence may all the more take comfort since there are some

under you who both love your wisdom and rule and obey it with a voluntary subjection. There is again somewhat more for which you should rejoice in your tribulation; that you are doubtless meeting with it on account of your burning zeal for God, and that you are enduring it from the fear of God whereby you dare not fly from it. Of a truth, where there are so many reasons for comfort and spiritual gladness, little weight ought to be attached to the bitterness of sadness. For God weighs not only the care one takes to be profitable to others, but also or perhaps yet more carefully, the labour one endures in the attempt to profit them and the grief one feels at not being able to improve them according to one's wish. For it is our part to plough and sow, but the increase and harvest are God's to give. He repays us that which is our own, though it be our own through His help; but that which is His, to Himself He ascribes it. However, if your mind will not or cannot accept this opinion, I do not forbid it, if through your bishop, and the ordinance of God through those to whom these matters appertain, you can in the regular way obtain your desire. Farewell.

24. TO POPE PASCAL.

To his reverend lord and father, Pascal the great pontiff, Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury; with due willing submission and, if they are worth aught, the devotion of his prayers.

The reason why I have so long delayed to send any message to your highness after we, giving God thanks, had rejoiced at the certain news of your elevation, was that a certain messenger came from the king of the English to the venerable Archbishop of Lyons about our matters, not however announcing what was to be

required ; and hearing the answer of the archbishop he went back to the king, promising to return at once to Lyons. I waited for him that I might know what I could tell you as to the king's will, but he never came. I will therefore state my case briefly, for when I stayed in Rome I often told it to the Lord Pope Urban and to many others, as I doubt not your holiness knows. I saw in England many evils the correction of which belonged to me, and which I could neither remedy, nor without personal guilt allow to exist. Now the king required me to give my consent under the cloak of justice to what he willed, which was against the law and will of God. For except by his own command he would not allow the holder of the apostolic see to be appealed to in England ; nor that I should send him a letter or receive one sent by him, or obey his decrees. He has suffered no council to be summoned in his kingdom since he became king, now thirteen years ago. He gave the lands of the Church to his men; when I sought advice as to these and similar matters, every one in his kingdom, even my own suffragan bishops, refused to give any advice save according to the king's will. I, seeing these and many other things which are against God's will and law, begged him for leave to go to the apostolic see that I might thence receive advice as to my own soul and the duty incumbent on me. The king replied that I had offended against him by the mere asking for this leave, and required me either to give him satisfaction for this as for an offence and security against my ever asking again for such permission or ever appealing to the apostolic see, or forthwith to leave his realm. I preferred to depart rather than consent to that wickedness. I went, as you know, to Rome, and told the whole matter to the lord pope. Directly I left England, the king, only allowing for the bare food and

clothing of our monks, took possession of the whole archbishopric and converted it to his own use. Being warned and commanded by the lord pope to alter this, he held him in contempt, and still continues to go on in the same manner. This is now already the third year since I left England; the little I brought with me and much which I have borrowed and still owe, have I spent. Thus owing more than I possess, being detained at the house of our venerable father the Archbishop of Lyons, I am at present supported by his kind liberality and generous goodness. I say this not as desiring to return to England, but I fear lest your highness should be angry with me did I not make you acquainted with my position. Thus I pray and adjure you with all possible earnestness by no means to command me to return to England, except in such manner as I shall be allowed to prefer the law and will of God and the apostolic decrees, to the will of man: and except the king shall restore to me the Church lands, and whatever he has taken from the archbishopric because I appealed to the apostolic see; unless indeed a just compensation be made to the Church for all that. Otherwise I should let it appear that I ought to put man before God, and that I am rightly despoiled for choosing to appeal to the apostolic see. It is plain enough what an injurious and detestable example this would be for my successors. Some of the less intelligent ask why I do not excommunicate the king; but the wiser and more clear-judging advise me not to do that, since it behoves me not to do both these, *i.e.*, make the complaint, and impose the penalty. And then I am told by my friends who are under the same king, that if I were indeed to publish my excommunication, it would by them be despised and turned into ridicule. The authority of your wisdom needs no advice from me as to all

this. I pray that Almighty God may make all your actions pleasing to Him, and His Church long to rejoice in the prosperity of your rule. Amen.

25. TO THE PRIOR AND BRETHERN OF THE CHURCH
AT CANTERBURY.

Anselm the archbishop to the lord prior and the brethren living under his rule in the Church of Christ at Canterbury, greeting : and from God blessing, and forgiveness of sins.

Your fraternity asks me for advice as to your trouble, and particularly as to the money which the king has made you pay. You know how he has robbed me of the possessions of the archbishopric. Therefore he shall by no means get from me anything out of the whole archbishopric, unless he shall first have reinvested me according to the canons, and restored to me what he took ; nor ought you willingly to give him my money without command from me. But should he force you to give it whether by fear lest he should do still worse to you or by any other compulsion, I shall cry to God alike for what he has taken and for what he shall take from me and you (for what is yours is mine) and invoke His judgment. Do not let present sufferings too much terrify nor disturb you, "for God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able." "Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might." God, who does not forsake those who put their trust in Him, will put an end to these evils. Master Baldwin, when he returned from Rome, brought word from the lord pope, that he will bring our affair before the Council which is to meet next Lent, that he may get advice from the said Council : and he sent word of this to the king. I beg of you to cause to be written out for me the

book "*Cur Deus Homo?*" &c., in one volume, for I want to send it to the lord pope, and I would ask that some one who writes clearly and distinctly may transcribe them. Farewell. And do this as quickly as you conveniently can, and send it to me.

26. TO DONALD, DONATUS, AND OTHER BISHOPS.

Anselm, metropolitan bishop of the Church at Canterbury, to the reverend bishops Donald, Donatus, and others high in office in the island of Hibernia: may salvation from God the Father and Jesus Christ His Son, and the blessing of an eternal inheritance be yours!

Perceiving by many signs the sweet savour of your devotion, I have made up my mind to lay specially before you the calamities which I suffer, that the nearer you stand to the Creator, the more intimately you may display my troubles before Him, and thus displaying them with groans of compassion may obtain of Him mercy for me. While my predecessor of blessed memory, Lanfranc, now dead, was archbishop, I being abbot at the head of the monastery of Bec in Normandy (where my aforesaid predecessor, in ruling the Church over which I now by God's will preside, had preceded me), by the secret counsel of God went on business concerning Church property, to England. And being there, both the king and bishop and the chief men in the realm forcibly conduct me to the episcopal throne, not, as is customary, by summons, but rather violently dragging me, clergy and people shouting together, so that not one was present but seemed to be pleased at what was being done. Then again when I protested that I neither would, nor should, agree to that, since without their knowledge I had been taken out of the power of the Duke of

Normandy and the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rouen, I was compelled by the command of those very same men (*i.e.*, the aforesaid duke and archbishop), through whose claims I had struggled to escape, and obeying, I accepted the burden of the office. In this manner I was raised to the pontificate, and accepted it because I found it impossible to resist. Being therefore crowned episcopally, I began carefully to consider what was my duty to Christ, to His Church, to the country, to my office, and I tried to repress evils by partial discipline, to coerce those who had unjustly taken possession, and to reduce everything irregular to due order. For which cause those who ought to be my helpers in God's Church, being greatly offended, only do me harm, and the cause of God, which ought to advance through me, goes back when I am present. Wherefore (I groan as I speak and own it) bitter grief seizes me when I remember that I have lost that fruitful peace, and reflect that I have incurred this useless danger. For so it has come to pass through my sins, that those who had freely placed themselves under my rule, now of their own will withdraw from my authority, and I who was marked out by their approval am now hated by almost all. Wherefore, venerable brothers, sons in your affection, I beseech you in the name of Him who redeemed His enemies by His own blood, pray that God would give to us all peace, turn by His grace the hearts of our enemies, and make us to live according to His will. Further, I am impelled by my pastoral solicitude to admonish your fraternity, godly though you be in life and upright in intention, that you manfully and watchfully extend God's teaching, restraining with canonical severity any teaching contrary to that of the Church which may be found within your provinces, and arranging all things according to God's will. But

if at any time, whether on the consecration of bishops, or on account of disputes about Church business, or for any other reasons, any question about things pertaining to holy religion should arise among you which you are unable to settle canonically; I ordain, by the charge love lays upon me, that this point should be referred to my knowledge so that you may rather receive advice and comfort from me than appoint transgressors of God's law to be judges in His cause. Again, best beloved, I implore you, pray for me; raise me out of my trials by the hand of your prayers, your devout petitions vibrating in the ears of God's clemency. May God, who "causeth the light to shine out of darkness," flood your minds with the light of His wisdom, that what He commands you may know, and knowing, may indeed fulfil.

27. TO POPE PASCAL.

To his respected lord and beloved father Pascal the supreme pontiff, Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, presents his due obedience and faithful prayers.

Since the aims and resolutions of the Church's sons depend on the authority of the apostolic see, therefore I have recourse to the direction and advice of your paternity; why notwithstanding I so long put off writing anything to your highness after my return from England, you may if you like learn from the bearer of this. King William, through whose violence I was three years an exile, being dead, I was most eagerly recalled by my lord King Henry, and by his nobles, and by the Church, and by all received with great joy. When afterwards they understood the regulation which I had heard made in the Roman Council by your predecessor Pope

Urban of venerable memory, namely, that no one should receive a Church investiture at the hand of a layman, nor should a bishop or abbot become his man, I perceived and heard that the king and his nobles would on no account agree to it. Wherefore I am waiting for necessary advice from your highness on this point. When I was at Rome, I plainly showed the aforesaid pope about the legation from Rome to the realm of England, how the men of that kingdom asserted it to have been held from ancient times up to our own by the Church of Canterbury; how necessary it must therefore be to have it so, and that it could not be otherwise except to the injury of both Roman and Anglican churches. The lord pope did not take away from me that legation which up to our time, according to the aforesaid testimony, the Church had retained. But while I was in exile for fidelity to the apostolic see, I heard that your authority had committed that legation to the Archbishop of Vienne. Now, what a great difficulty, nay even total impossibility, it would be, those comprehend who have had experience of the long and perilous extent of seas and kingdoms,—to wit, France and Burgundy—between England and Vienne; what an impossibility, I say, it would be for the Archbishop of Vienne to resort to England, or the English to go to Vienne, for the settlement of business. Wherefore I humbly beg of your paternity, as a servant and son, that a Church which suffered with me many calamities while I was in poverty and exile for fidelity to the Roman Church, may not in my days be deprived of that dignity which it openly asserts itself to have possessed before my time in my predecessors. When I left England there was one, a priest by profession, but a collector of rents, and not only that but a rent collector of the worst possible reputation, by name Ranulph,

surmamed also Flambard, from his cruelty which consumed like flame; what the light of his torch is is known far and wide not only in England but in foreign realms. Him the king lately deceased, against the will of all the better sort, against all right and justice, presumed to raise to the episcopate without any amendment on his part, while I was in exile. How also he exceeded, both before his episcopate and after, both in simony and other crimes, the bearer of this parchment will be able to make known. But such a bishop, having been irregularly consecrated where he should not have been, did not hesitate to contaminate churches and persons outside his own diocese. When I returned to England, I found this man had been taken by the king on account of money which as a rent-collector he owed and had wrongfully retained, as was fully proved in the king's court, the people rejoicing as though a lion which had ravaged all around were caught in the toils. Of whom his archbishop, since dead, avowed in the hearing of the king's court when he was in custody, that he did not consider him as a brother or bishop, and that he had broken every promise he had made when consecrated. When he heard of my return, as a bishop he claimed my assistance. So I sent to him four bishops with the bearer of this, saying that if he would show that he had so attained to the episcopate as that he ought to be treated as a bishop, I would procure him liberty therefor; but I feared, I said, to be overwhelmed with curses and reproaches by the people, should I set at liberty his cruelty which was then restrained. But the bishops reported that he had failed to satisfy them on the points which I had asked about through them. He afterwards fled secretly by a trick into Normandy, and joining the enemies of the king his lord, it is reported as a fact that he made himself the leader of pirates,

whom he commands at sea. About this, since the Church committed to him, exposed to many perils among barbarians, cannot be left long without a pastor, and as to the churches and persons whom he consecrated, I request the command of your wisdom. The Archbishop of York having died since I returned, in his place has been elected the bishop of Rochester, a very learned man and skilled in ecclesiastical government. In this election we bishops assented to the desire of the clergy and people of that church. This bishop, though he much wished to show himself in your presence that he might be honoured by your benignity with the pall according to custom, the king for some reason or other has retained among the nobles of his council; and he now desires with entreaties to induce your highness to send him the pall. Whose petition we humbly beseech your bounty to grant, if it shall please you to receive our prayers.

28. TO POPE PASCAL.

Anselm, servant of the church at Canterbury, offers his lord and father Pascal, the supreme pontiff, his due service and prayers.

I think that your excellence must remember how I interceded with you for our beloved brother the archbishop of B., and how kindly you answered. And now that he is going to present himself to you, I venture with all possible earnestness to pray that he may meet with apostolic charity. After I left your presence, William, the king of England's legate, who accompanied me, told me on the king's part that I was so to act as that I might be in England as my predecessor Lanfranc had been with the king his father. I understood from this that he did not wish for my return to England

unless I would become his man and swear fealty to him, and consecrate those on whom he should himself confer Church investitures. Therefore I told the king that I could not do this, and that you had enjoined me not to communicate with those who should accept investitures from him ; but if he would allow me to do it consistently with my order and the obedience I owe to you, I would be ready to serve God according to my office, and the people committed to me, in England ; and I asked him to give me an answer as to his will in this matter ; which he has not yet done. I have not even been able to obtain anything from the revenues of my bishopric since William went back to England. As to the letter which you desired me to send to the king and queen from you, since William was told at Rome that it was written under my direction, and since the same William received, so I have heard, after that one, another sent out by your holiness, I do not believe it to have been conformed to my suggestions. Certain it is that had it been written under my guidance it would not have at all appeared as though implying contempt or scorn ; now, as I hear, the king says I am his only adversary. I anxiously await your advice about all this, being prepared by God's grace to suffer for the truth anything that is not unbecoming to a Christian. May God long preserve your paternity safe to us. Amen.

29. TO MATILDA, QUEEN OF THE ENGLISH.

To his mistress and dearest daughter Matilda, queen of the English, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, offers his faithful prayers and faithful service, and God's blessing, and his own.

I give thanks to God and to your highness for the good-will which you bear towards me and towards the Church of God, and I pray God Almighty of His love

to increase your piety, and thus to make you persevere until you receive from Him an eternal reward. I also pray that He may so cause your good intentions to succeed as that by your means He may turn the heart of our lord the king from that advice of the nobles which He reprobates, and cause the king to abide by His counsel, which is for ever sure. I gratefully accept your consolation and advice as from a mistress and a friend in the sight of God, for I know that your affection is given me by God. If your affection pleaseth to send me word of anything, you may tell it safely by word of mouth to the bearer of this. May Almighty God direct all your actions, and guard you from all evil.

30. TO ROGER, ROBERT, AND OTHER ABBOTS.

Anselm, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, to Roger, abbot, and Robert, son of Count Hugo, and other monks of the monastery of St Ebrulf.

It is very well known, nor can it by any means be concealed, how you broke into the monastery of St Edmund, and by what violence you sought to control the election by the brethren of that church and compel their consent to your disorderly will. How irreligiously, how against the monkish vow, and against the rule of St Benedict which you professed, and contrary to Holy Scripture, which says, "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God," and how directly against God Himself you are acting in this, may God Himself see, who discerns between the shepherd and the ravening wolf. I cannot indeed prevent my lord the king from appointing you over the lands; but over the souls for whose behoof an abbot is chosen and appointed none but those to whom God has given the power of binding and loosing can place any one. That Church is in my primacy and archbishopric,

and the consecrations therein belong of right to the archbishop of Canterbury, whom, as you are well aware, I am. Then, of those rights which belong to me I have never yielded, nor do I yield, a single one to you; but rather I pray God, and I will strive so far as, God helping me, I am able, that God may turn the heart of my lord the king to that which best pleaseth God, and is good for his soul; and that God may make him alter his heart according to God's will if so be he doeth aught against it. You are Christians under the Christian law, and you profess to live according to the monastic profession. If you act contrary to that, you plainly confess that you are neither Christians nor monks. I warn you therefore, as Christians and monks, to prove that you fear God more than man, and steadily to desist from the wickedness you have entered upon. If you choose to resist God rather than men, I warn you, God will resist your souls: God, to whom is said "the poor committeth himself unto Thee," will Himself see, and perceive if henceforth you cause any sufferings to the brethren of that Church.

31. TO GONDULPH.

Anselm, archbishop, to the reverend Bishop Gondulph, greeting.

Where and how I am you will hear from the bearer of this, but why I do not yet return to England you may learn from the letter which I send to the king. But I want you to greet him faithfully from me, and to give him my seal, which my messengers are bringing you, and which I send to him, and if it should please him to answer me by letter, send that to me by the same messenger. If he does not wish to do this, tell me in your letter what his answer is. But do not show

my ring to the king after William of Warelwast comes to England, and to that same William do you secretly show a copy of the letter which I send to the king. And see to it that no one besides him, excepting only our prior, knows of that letter before it is given to the king. But after the king is acquainted with it, notify it to the bishops and others, and greet the queen lovingly from me. I send you a copy of the letter I am addressing to the king.

32. TO HIS NEPHEW ANSELM.

Anselm the archbishop to Anselm, his nephew in the flesh, his dearest son in affection : greeting and God's blessing, and his own.

Since of all my relations it is for thee that I feel the most special love, I long for thy improvement in the sight of God and before everyone. Wherefore I advise and enjoin thee as a most dearly-loved son, to study carefully to attain that improvement for which I sent thee to England, and to spend no time in idleness. Strive most to acquire a thorough knowledge of grammar by declining and parsing, by dictation ; and practise reading prose rather than verse. Above all, keep guard over thy behaviour and thine actions before men, and over thy heart before God, so that when, God permitting, I see thee, I may rejoice in thy progress, and thou be glad in my joy. Farewell. To God I commend thee, body and soul.

33. TO MATILDA, QUEEN OF THE ENGLISH.

To his honoured lady and dearest daughter, Matilda, queen of the English, Anselm the archbishop offers greeting and God's blessing, with his own if it be worth aught, his service and loving prayers.

My heart gives thanks to your highness for your extreme bounty; it makes what return it can, and ceaselessly longs to do more. May He who thus inspires it, Himself repay you. For, what a pious and sweet affection you by God's inspiration feel for me, you plainly show me when you write me word of all the bitterness and sadness and anxiety which you feel on account of my absence. Which absence of mine, so far as I and those who study the matter understand, has not been thus long extended by any fault of mine. Your excellence with devout feeling complains that my intemperate behaviour has disturbed the equanimity of mind of my lord the king and his nobles; and that this has prevented the good begun by your efforts from being carried out; but in that letter of mine wherein this intemperate language is said to be, nothing unwarrantable, nothing unreasonable can be discovered (although this was imputed to me in the king's letter), if with unbiassed judgment and quiet mind what is there written, and the prohibition which I heard and which all know, be considered. For I advanced nothing against the king's father and Archbishop Lanfranc, men of great and religious memory, when I proved that neither in my baptism nor my ordinations had I promised to obey their law and customs, and declared that I was not going to be false to the law of God. Now that which is required of me because they did it, I, on account of what I heard at Rome with my own ears, could not do without offending most grievously. Were I to despise that I should be acting in defiance of God's law. Therefore, that I might show how reasonably I refused to do that which is demanded of me in accordance with their customs, I explained how much the rather I am a debtor to keep the apostolic and ecclesiastical law known to all, in which we un-

doubtedly perceive the law of God, since it was promulgated for the support of the Christian religion : how much the more dangerous it would be to despise this law, I need not say here ; since Christians who have ears to hear may daily know it from the divine decrees. But that wicked interpretation of my sayings, according to which I am said to have spoken unwarrantably, I do not ascribe to the king's mind or to yours. For as I heard, the king at first received my letter kindly ; but afterwards some one, I know not who, with spiteful and insincere intention, excited him against me by a wrong interpretation. Who however that may be, I do not know ; but I am quite certain of this, that either he does not love, or knows not *how* to love, his Lord. May Almighty God so cherish you and your children in prosperity in this life as that He may bring you to the blessedness to come. Amen.

34. TO GONDULPH, BISHOP.

Anselm the archbishop to his old and ever new and true friend and beloved in the Lord, the reverend Archbishop Gondulph, greeting.

Although your constancy expects no thanks for the good deeds you have undertaken, but often puts them aside, yet lest others should think that I do not sufficiently notice the kindness and solicitude which you certainly show in your great labours for my advantage, nor estimate them highly enough : therefore I give your reverence thanks in heart and in word and by writing, for in everything belonging to me and my affairs, I perceive that you prudently and vigorously to the utmost of your power and with most true affection both speak and act as you ought. And I am also sure, that, God helping you, as long as you live, your good-

will towards me, as it has never failed since first it began, so it never will fail. Your charity laments that I have not ventured to England, on account of the words of a single clerk ; but this is not the case. Read the letter which I wrote to the Lord Prior Ernulph in answer about this. I thought you had seen it. There, as I think, you will read some good reasons why I neither ought to have returned, nor, as things stand, ought to return, to England. But do not make those reasons public. The answer which the king promised to give me by the feast of St Michael, I am sure that neither Master Everard nor any messenger of mine can receive on that day, for he does not so come to me as that he could arrive on that very day. If, therefore, on that day you do not receive that answer, I pray you to demand another as quickly and earnestly as you can, and send me the king's letter, whatever it may be, and if he will not give any answer or wishes to put it off any longer, let me know even that by letter from you without delay. And as this cannot be done so speedily through Master Everard, do it through my servant Vulgarus of Lyminge and some one companion, or by any other walking messenger ; for I will neither cause nor accept further delay before beginning to take counsel of God and His Church, which ought to be done in a matter like this. But I trust in God whose cause it is that is in question, that at some time or other it will be concluded, and the Church not always suffer as it does now. I know not who it is that with evil intention, out of the malice of his heart, interpreted the letter I sent to the king as though I were boasting that whereas I had always obeyed the law of God, his father and Archbishop Lanfranc had lived wickedly outside God's law. Now of a surety the mind of those who say this is either very wicked, or very small. For

some things were done in their own days by the king's father and Archbishop Lanfranc, men of great and devout reputation, which I, in these days, am unable to do, while obeying the law of God, and without incurring the damnation of my soul. You have done well, and I am pleased at your telling me the whole business in your letter, plainly, just as it happened. I am not satisfied with having often commended to your care the possessions and family of Robert who is with me, but would again, on account of the great good-will I bear him, draw your attention to them, and beg you to keep both in peace, so far as you can. I salute your sons and mine, and your daughters, and especially by name Master Ernulph, your chaplain. May Almighty God keep you always and everywhere. Amen.

35. ANSELM TO HIS DEAREST ADRUIN.

Anselm the archbishop, to his friend and dearest son Adruin, greeting, and the blessing of God.

May God have a care of you even as you care for my good name, for the which I give you thanks. I wrote to you some time ago in answer to those who prate against me, some who prefer to lie in speaking evil of me rather than to speak the truth if there be any good to speak of in me. But just now you ask with affectionate kindness that I would answer those who say that they have often seen in the churches specially belonging to my cure (the priests having been expelled), laymen standing before the altar, collecting alms, boldly usurping the offices of burial and whatever else belongs to the priest by right; concerning which when you inquired, you discovered from the evidence of our archdeacon, worse, so you say, than you had before heard. You have also heard clergy of these churches say that they

had often privately, and publicly in the Synod, complained to me of those offences, but had received no help. I therefore tell you that these things have never been done by my command, or my will, or with my consent. And if I ever heard any complaint about them (which I am not aware that I ever did) I never dismissed it without what appeared to me a sufficient remedy. Finally, I do not think that anything of that sort is done in my churches; but if it ever was, or is, done in others, I am wholly ignorant of it, and so far as I am concerned I neither ever did will nor do I now will that it should be done. It therefore matters not the least to me when I am criticised by those who make these discoveries not from any love of truth, but from malicious motives. But as to what you say you have heard about my not much caring to return to you, I answer that since I left England I have never been able to perceive how I could consistently return. And most assuredly I wish not, neither ought I, to lightly esteem the charge laid upon me by God, and forget the love of the brothers and sons committed to me.

36. TO POPE PASCAL.

To his honoured lord and beloved father, Pascal, supreme pope, Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, offers due submission and earnest supplication.

After I had, being recalled to the bishopric, returned to England, I published the apostolic decrees which I had heard when present at the Roman council; about which my lord the king asked your holiness by his legate, and I in my letter asked your advice according to the view you should take of the matter. You answered the king by letter, but me you answered not

at all; but since you did not give him a satisfactory answer, certain bishops are going to seek an audience of you about the same matter; and I am sending my messengers to report to me the tone of your reply, lest I seem to anyone to do anything by my own judgment or by my own will. With all due reverence for the apostolic see, I do most earnestly entreat that you will order concerning the petition which the aforesaid bishops will present as your wisdom shall judge to be best and most useful before God; and whatever that should be, let me know exactly through my messengers. For as it belongs not to me to loose what you bind, so it is not mine to bind what you loose.

37. TO BURGUNDIUS AND HIS WIFE RICHERA.

Anselm, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury to his brother and beloved friend, Burgundius, and to his wife Richera, his sister, greeting, and God's blessing, and his own, if it avail aught.

You sent me word, Burgundius, dear lord and beloved friend, that you desired to go to Jerusalem for the service of God and the salvation of your soul, and that you wished to do so with the consent of me, Anselm, and of your sons, my nephews. I rejoice at your good intention, and I advise and exhort you if you take this journey to carry away with you none of the sins you may have committed, nor leave any behind you at home; and in the future to have a fixed intention of serving God as a true Christian in your own rank. Make confession of all your sins from your childhood, one by one, so far as you can remember them. See that you do no wrong to your wife, whose goodness you know better than I do; but let her be so left as that she may not be without help and advice, whatever

God may do with you ; nor be expelled from your home and rank against her will so long as she shall live, that she may be able to attend on God for the welfare of your body and soul and for her own soul and those of your sons. Arrange all your affairs as you would do were you now dying and knew you were about to give account to God of your whole life. You ask my sanction. The approval, and counsel, and help, and protection of God, these I pray Him you may have in all ways and everywhere. To thee, sister mine, most dearly beloved, I would say : turn all thine intention, thy whole life, to the service of God ; and since God taketh away from thee all happiness in this life, believe He doeth this that thou mayest delight in Him alone : Him love, long for, think upon ; wait on Him at all times and everywhere. May Almighty God bless you both.

38. TO RICHERA.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to his dearly-loved sister Richera, greeting ; and in all her troubles may she be comforted of God.

I know, best-beloved sister, that except your husband, there is no man in the world of whose health and prosperity you would so wish to know and hear as of mine, and of that of your son Anselm who is with me : for I am your only brother, and he is your only son. As to what relates to us, our messengers could tell you by word of mouth better than I can in writing. Know however that your son, my dearest nephew, having after he left you, suffered from a long and serious illness, has however by the mercy of God regained perfect health. Then as to myself I can say that I am well in body ; but my heart is disturbed by many vexations.

Through the fear of God I dare not fly from England ; and yet I cannot here dwell in any peace or tranquillity or quiet. Each day my heart is agitated as though I were going to depart on the next ; but however it may be with me, I rejoice for you, for your messengers have brought me word of your health and prosperity. Seeing however that both the prosperity and adversity of this life are short and transitory, let us despise them, and fly from everlasting adversity while striving by a good life to merit perpetual prosperity. Therefore, most dear sister, since in this life you cannot have that which would delight your soul, turn it entirely towards God, that in a future life it may enjoy Him. Farewell. Should your husband return, and wish to come and see me, I desire him by no means to come.

39. TO POPE PASCAL.

To his honoured lord the great Pontiff Pascal, Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, sendeth due submission and faithful service.

In the first place, as far as my lowliness may, I thank your mightiness for receiving and treating my messengers so kindly and honourably, that I thence know I may trust in your kindness beyond my deserts. The letter they brought me from your majesty I received with due reverence ; but the king of the English would neither look at it, nor would he show me that which you sent to him. Now the archbishop of York and the other two bishops, with whom our messengers presented themselves before you, on their return reported by word of mouth other than was enjoined on me by the written documents. For they asserted publicly, by that truth to which bishops ought to adhere, that you had in secret speech sent word by them to the king that

if he otherwise acted rightly, you would neither prohibit him from giving ecclesiastical investitures, nor subject him to excommunication if he gave them, but that you were unwilling to commit this to parchment lest other princes to whom this was forbidden might hence take occasion to complain. They told me also from you, on the same faith of bishops, that I was to believe them in this matter and to go by their advice. To which if I would not agree, the king, even should I oppose it, would forthwith by your authority do of his own pleasure that which you had not forbidden; and should I persist in doing what your letter to me commanded, he would without doubt expel me the kingdom. But yet since I would neither disbelieve your letter nor might venture to despise the assertion of your command put forward by the bishops, since on either hand there threatened the doom of disobedience, I by the advice of those bishops begged for a delay until I could receive from your excellency some assurance as to this business. I however would give no consent to anything being done contrary to the decree of the Roman council, but am merely suffering it, not branding anyone in the meantime with the accusation of disobedience should it be done. So therefore the king, by your authority, as he thinks, is conferring bishoprics and abbacies. Prostrate therefore in mind at your feet, with what earnestness I can, being placed in a most anxious position, I entreat that I may find there is in you an apostolic pity for my soul, and I suppliantly invoke the whole love of the Roman Church to obtain this. I do not fear exile, or poverty, or torture, or death; for being strong in God, my heart is ready to bear all these for obedience to the apostolic see and the liberty of my mother, the Church of Christ. I only ask for positive information, that I may know without any ambiguity what I am to consider

as your decision. In the Roman council I heard the late Pope Urban of venerable memory excommunicate kings and all laymen who gave investitures and Church possessions, as also those who accepted the same and became their vassals for them, and those who consecrated these who so received them. Therefore if it please your holiness, either remove this excommunication as far as England is concerned, that I may remain here without danger to my soul; or tell me by letter that you mean to uphold it whatever it may cost me; or if, in your wisdom, you choose to except anything, tell me with the same exactness what that is. I wish also to be instructed by your command as to how I am to act with regard to those who during the aforesaid truce receive forbidden investitures and those who consecrate the former. In what I add to your paternity by word of mouth of the bearers to this letter, I humbly implore you to deign not to despise my entreaties.

40. TO POPE PASCAL.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to Pascal, the supreme pontiff, offers obedience due and constant prayers.

With what earnestness my mind to the uttermost of its power clings to its reverence for and obedience to the holy see, the many grievous troubles known to my heart and to God, bear witness; which I suffered for four years from the beginning of my episcopate in England, and for two in exile, because I refused to deny my dependence on the Roman See. From which attitude of mind I hope in God there is nothing that could move me. Wherefore so far as is possible to me I wish to submit all my actions to the direction and where necessary to the correction, of the decisions of

the said authority. As to my present position in England I will write only a few words, since I leave it to the bearer of this to explain more fully by word of mouth. When I returned to my bishopric after being recalled by the present king of England, I found the apostolic decrees were being violated which I had heard when present at the Roman council, namely, that no layman should give ecclesiastical investitures, nor should anyone receive one at his hands, or become his man for it, nor should any consecrate one who presumed to do so; if any however should transgress this, he should lie under the excommunication of the holy council. Which the king and his nobles hearing, what they and even the bishops shouted out with one accord as to the evils which would thence arise and what they would rather do than accept these decrees, I am unwilling to tell: let these messengers who were present and heard it all, tell it. But turning to me, they all with one accord declared that I could stop all the mischief which might proceed from these decrees; they asserted forcibly that if I would join my entreaties to those of the bishops, your highness would be pleased to lessen the severity of the aforesaid decision. And that should I refuse to do this, they should consider that every evil which might thence arise was without any palliation to be imputed to me. Lest therefore I should seem to despise them somewhat, or to be doing aught out of my own heart or by my own will, I neither dare not listen to them, nor do I wish to put myself in the least beyond the disposal of your holiness. Therefore with all due reverence for and obedience to the apostolic see, I pray that so far as your authority under God allows, you would yield to this petition; and tell me decidedly what you desire me to do in this business, whatever that may be. I pray Almighty God long to

keep your paternity safe in perfect prosperity for the strength and comfort of His Church.

41. TO WILLIAM THE ABBOT AND TO THE COMMUNITY
OF BEC.

Brother Anselm, called the archbishop, to his masters and brothers the Lord Abbot William and the holy community of Bec serving God under him : may the divine grace and blessing ever lead you to all good and defend you from all evil.

If my heart would display to you at length the love it bears you, much parchment would not suffice ; and if I wish to express it briefly that would never satisfy my affection. But in this perplexity I am consoled by your own feelings, whereby you realise in yourselves how often and how much I have missed you, and how as long as I lived with you I sought to be of some use to you : and if you do not all know this by experience, because God has increased your numbers since I left you, learn it from those who know it and have proved it. Accordingly let your love never doubt that as I loved the root, so I do the branches however much they may be multiplied, and all the sons of my mother, both the first-born and those born after me, do I embrace in my heart and love as sons of the same mother. Therefore I beseech and adjure you all not to let the recollection and love of me grow weak in the hearts of those who have it, and to awaken and sustain it in the minds of those who have not known me. For although in the body I am absent with you, yet my nest, I mean the Church of Bec, with all its chickens I bear always about with me in my heart, and in my prayers and in every righteous longing, if any such I have, plead for them before God. But for me let the depth of your charity

pray, and may divine goodness cause that the diligence of your prayers for me may not abate. Although your minds are inflamed with good desires, yet since the well-intentioned do not dislike to hear what they love, I pray, adjure, advise, counsel you ever to stretch forth to better things, and never to sink back from those to which God has advanced you. May mutual love in God ever burn within you, may peace and concord, with truth, continually dwell in your mind ; may humble obedience in all your actions please God, and observance of your vow and avoidance of every fault ever be actively fervent. Of these things remind each other, hold unfailingly to these. This I pray, I choose, I desire for you ; this may He from whom cometh all good Himself give you with His full and perpetual blessing. Amen.

42. TO HIS FRIEND CUNO.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to his beloved friend Cuno, greeting.

Your gentleness desires that of the three kinds of pride concerning which I spoke to you, I would by letter recall to your mind two which have escaped your memory. I said that they are three: one of thought, that is, when anyone thinks of himself more highly than he ought to think ; against which it is said, "Be not high-minded, but fear," and which he denies to exist in himself, who says: "Lord, I am not high-minded, I have no proud looks." Another is of will, when anyone wants to be treated with more consideration than is his due ; against which is said, "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another?" Another is in deed ; against which saith the Lord, "When thou art bidden of any to a wedding, sit not

down in the highest room." This when a man treats himself better than he ought. Against each of these forms many sayings are found in holy Scripture if they are sought out. Against all it is said, "Whoso exalteth himself shall be humbled," and "God resisteth the proud." And many other passages there are. Of these three, when each one is by itself, that is the least which is in deed only, because it is done through ignorance alone; and yet since it is a fault, it ought to be amended. Of the other two, that which is in will alone is the more to be condemned, because it errs knowingly. But that which is in thought, is only the more foolish, since it does not manifest itself, and to itself appears quite right. If therefore these three forms of pride be considered each singly, they may be called simply three; but if they are taken two by two, they will be found to be three double forms. If three be united at once, there will be one triple pride; and so there are seven,—three simple, three duplex, one triple. Opposed to these forms of pride are divisions of humility, that is, that one should think humbly of one's self, and as regards the estimation of our relation to others wish humbly for one's self, act towards one's self humbly. For each form of pride a man is called proud; but as to the various parts of humility, even for two, unless all the parts are there together, a man is not called humble; just as a man is said to be ill when one limb is ailing, but we do not say he is well, unless healthy in every limb. I have thus brought this briefly to the remembrance of your affection. If your prudence will frequently reconsider it, you will understand it more fully than is here set down. Farewell, and pray for me, that as God has given me to comprehend pride and humility, so He may give me to avoid the one, and acquire the other. Greet my lord and friend, the bishop, for me.

43. TO GONDULPH, ARCHBISHOP.

Anselm, archbishop, to the reverend Bishop Gondulph, greeting.

I hear that our lord the king is demanding from the prior and monks of our church money which they neither have nor can have, since, as I am told, they owe no small sum to their creditors and are in great straits for want of the bare necessities of life. Even for the work taken in hand by the Church they are unable to collect half of what I had estimated would be wanted; and if they had it, the king ought not to exact anything from them, to whom as monks nothing belongs, not even their own selves, nor have they any right to give or lend anything which is not their own. Wherefore I command and beg you with entreaties to persuade the king to give orders that all our possessions shall remain quietly undisturbed until I come back, as he promised; for if God grant me a prosperous return I will do the king service as I proposed and as I owe to my lord and king. If he shall do this, I will give thanks to God, and to him; but if he will not hear my prayers, and chooses to do aught I would complain of, then—let him do, as lord, what shall please him; but he will not to my mind be doing what he ought. For I and the monks are not divided; all things which are arranged for their service belong to me and are under my government; and if they are in want I am bound to expend on their need whatever I have got. Thence since each temporal misfortune affects my spirit in its own peculiar way and degree, the very fact that this afflicts them touches my heart more deeply; and you know that I ought not to give my consent to so unusual and unheard-of a proceeding: and since I ought not, therefore I dare not, suffer money to be extorted from

monks and their prior : hence it is not advisable for me or anyone that this custom should be by any agreement introduced into the Church of God.

44. TO HENRY, KING OF THE ENGLISH.

To Henry, his revered lord, the renowned King of England, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, offers his faithful homage, with prayers.

I give thanks to God, from whom cometh all good, for your safety and happiness, and that He has continued your successes to your joy and that of your faithful servants. I also thank your mightiness for deigning to send me word of this as to one faithful in whom you trust because he rejoices with you in all your prosperity and gives thanks to Him by whose providence it comes to pass. It is indeed true that I daily pray and long for this, that God may so guide you and yours in the glory of your temporal rule over the English, as that He may cause you to reign in eternal felicity among the angels. And it is with regard to this that I most desire to serve you. Wherefore since this is my duty (I am indeed placed here for that), I as both trusted servant and bishop advise, pray, and, as it is written, adjure in season, out of season, that as God increases your prosperity and exalts your power, so you may above all things love in all your doings to fulfil His will. The which may He grant you long so to do in prosperity in this life that He may after this life cause you to rejoice with Him in eternity. With me, thank God, all is going well ; and before the Assumption of the Blessed Mary I shall depart from Bec, that according as God shall direct I may pursue the object for which I quitted England. As for our concerns : though I have every trust in your

goodness, yet I would ask you to give orders for all to be left undisturbed until I return.

45. TO ERNULPH AND THE MONKS OF CANTERBURY.

Archbishop Anselm to his dearly-loved masters and brethren and sons, the Lord Prior Ernulph, and the other monks serving God under him, sends greeting, and God's blessing, also his own, so far as it may avail.

You will hear as to my health and prosperity and where I am, from the bearer of this. But I cannot as yet return to England until I know what the king says in answer to the letter I sent him by the Bishop of Rochester. What it contained you will hear from that same bishop after it has been laid before the king. But whatever the king may reply or whatever may become of me, remember that "whether we live or die we are the Lord's." So live therefore as that you may live to Him, and when you die you may go to Him. Let not the troubles of this life disturb you, for "by much tribulation must we enter into the kingdom of God." Cast your anxiety upon the Lord and He will nourish you, He will not suffer the righteous to be harassed for ever. Living righteously, not vexing your hearts, pray to God to make you ever rejoice in His consolation. The boys and youths, as my beloved sons, I exhort and advise with all possible tenderness not to be forgetful of the warning and teaching whereby I used to instruct them how to keep strict guard over their hearts and minds; but by frequently thinking over our rule, which I was wont carefully to exalt and recommend to them, strive by God's grace to keep it. "The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus." I thank you all for the kindness you have shown my nephew,

and desire him to remain with you and study theology and other learning until I send him word to come.

46. TO ABBOT GERONTIUS.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to his revered father and friend Gerontius, greeting.

A certain monk (by what I learnt from himself) bound to your Church by a former profession, whereby he took the clerical habit among you, and also to the monastery of St Peter which is at Carnotes, where by another profession he took the monastic habit, says he cannot obtain his freedom either from you or from the Carnotensian abbot, so as to work out in the monastery of Carnotes or in yours the salvation of his soul; which he is unable to do unless he be set free either by you or by the Abbot of Carnotes. Your prudence must therefore consider that it is neither advisable nor seemly for you abbots to destroy his soul by both pulling at him thus, but that maternal love ought to reign within you, and you should show that you love your neighbour better than your own will. That one rather proves herself the mother, who says to the other: "Take thou the living child, nor let us both slay it," so that when the true Solomon shall come, He may say: "Give to this one the living child, she is the mother of it." For the true mother will rather have her son live in the arms of another than hold him dead in her own. Be it however known to your holiness that so far as I could gather, it is much better for many reasons that he should stay at Carnotes than return to you. Wherefore if I might venture I would suggest by way of advice to your community that you should give proof of being, not the false, but the true, mother. Farewell.

47. TO HENRY, KING OF THE ENGLISH.

To Henry, by the grace of God king of the English, and his lord, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, presents his faithful service and prayers.

In the letter which I lately received from your highness you deigned to assure me of your friendship, and that there was no man on earth you would rather have in your realm than me, if I would be with you as Archbishop Lanfranc was with your father. I thank you for your kindness and good-will. To what you say about your father and Archbishop Lanfranc, I answer that neither at my baptism, nor at any time of my being ordained did I promise to keep any law or customs of your father, or of Archbishop Lanfranc, but only the law of God, and of all the orders I received. Wherefore if you wish me to be with you in such wise as I may live after the law of God and of my order, and if, according to the same law of God, you will invest me with everything you have received from my archbishopric since I left you, which were I present you ought not to receive without my consent, and will promise me this, I am ready to return to you in England, and to serve God and you and all committed to me according to the office assigned me by God, He helping me. For indeed with no other king or prince on earth would I so willingly live, no other so willingly serve. But if you will not agree to this, do you what pleases you; but I by God's grace will never deny His law. And I dare not, for I should not, omit to declare to you that God will not only require at your hands whatever the royal power may owe to Him, but also whatever pertains to the office of the primate of England. This burden is much more than you can sustain, and you ought not to be displeased at what I

say. For no man is it more necessary to obey God's law, than for the king, and none disregards His law at a greater risk. For Holy Scripture says:—it is not I —“mighty men shall be mightily tormented,”—which may God avert from you. In the answer you have already twice given me, I can discover nothing save a certain (if I may venture to say it) pretext for delay, which is inexpedient both for your own soul and for the Church of God. If therefore you put off longer giving me, in answer to this, a positive declaration of your will, I, since the cause is not mine, but entrusted to me by God Himself, fear long to put off making my appeal to God. Wherefore I pray, I adjure you, force me not to complain with sorrow, against my will, “Arise, O Lord, maintain Thine own cause.” May Almighty God bend your inclinations to His will, that after this life He may bring you into His glory.

48. TO ORDUVINUS.

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to his brother and dearest son Orduvinus, greeting and blessing.

I am grateful to your affection for being anxious about my reputation, and for asking how you should answer my false accusers who seek occasion to attack me. They say, so you write me word, that I forbid the king to grant investitures; and, what is worse, allow wicked and evil clerks to usurp and ravage churches, nor rise up against them. They say also that I give churches to laymen. Tell them that they lie. I do not by my own authority forbid the king to grant investitures; but since I heard the apostolic see excommunicate in a great council laymen who give, and those who receive, such investitures, and those who shall consecrate the receivers, I will not communicate with

the excommunicate nor become myself excommunicate. Neither do I willingly, but with sorrow, endure that clerks should oppress churches, and I have to that point risen up against it, that for this I am in exile and despoiled of my spiritual belongings. That of which they complain as to the clerks would not happen, if the investitures which I stand out against did not take place. I do not give churches to laymen by giving them manors to farm; but I assign them that they may be taken care of, not that the laymen may place or remove a clerk, except by my order or that of our archdeacon or the ruler of the manors of our church. They therefore wickedly accuse me of minding others' business and neglecting my own; for they say not this out of love for the truth, but hinder my voice which speaks on the side of truth. Farewell.

49. TO WARNER.

Anselm the archbishop to Warner:—greeting, and the blessing of God, and his own, and may a full success attend what he has well begun.

Blessed is God in His gifts, and holy in all His works, who visited thee with His grace, my beloved son, when thy body and soul were in peril of death, and mercifully brought thee back to life. Reflect and consider what a token God gave thee of His love, when with paternal affection He constrained thee not only flying from, but rejecting, Him, to return to Him and desire to serve Him. Never think that what thou hast undertaken is of less worth in thee because thou wast urged to it by the fear of death, and not drawn by thine own free inclination. For God does not weigh so much from what beginning or on what occasion a man enters upon the right course, as with what energy, what devotion, he

makes use of the grace expended on him by God. See, Paul the apostle was by compulsion converted from the Christian faith ; but since he held the faith with all his heart, and in it finished his course, he rejoicingly gave us to understand in his own words that there was laid up for him a crown of righteousness. Thou hast with thee my dearest brother the Lord Prior Ernulph, who is no less able than myself with all knowledge and zeal to give thee advice, and by my authority to absolve thee. To God and to him I commit thee ; to him after God do thou by my advice and command commit thyself. By the favour of God, thou art learned ; the knowledge which God suffered thee to acquire for love of the world, turn to use for the love of God, whence thou hast whatever thou hast, so that in the place of that earthly reputation after which thou with thy learning wast panting, thou mayest attain that eternal glory which thou didst either scorn or but feebly desire. As to the customs of our order into which thou hast entered, keep them carefully as though ordained by God, for not one is useless, not one superfluous. I advise thee to ask for the letter I wrote to Master Lanzo when he was a novice. There thou wilt find how thou shouldst behave in the beginning of thy conversion, and how meet the temptations which assail the novice. I pray God, as far as I may, to give thee absolution and remission of all thy sins ; and may He so strengthen thee in thy purpose as to bring thee to everlasting glory. Amen.

50. TO RAINALD.

To Rainald, to him who wisely prefers truth to vanity, who for the sake of virtue bravely spurns transitory glory, manfully endures poverty, Anselm, Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, sends greeting ; and may he ever be protected and consoled by the grace of God.

Your affection desires I should send you some consolation : which I do willingly, in the manner I think most suitable for you and most profitable for you in God's sight. Let your conscience, your virtue, your perseverance, be the comfort of your heart in God's sight. You acted bravely when you rejected for the truth's sake the bishopric into which, uncalled by God, you had been thrust. Let not your heart desire that God should give you as a reward of your virtue that which you spurned for righteousness' sake. The rectitude you preserved is far more precious than that which for it you rejected. So you greatly tarnish your brightness in God's sight if you look for that which is vile and transitory as a reward and consolation from Him. I say not that you ought not to have the bishopric, or that you do not deserve it, but advise you to rejoice inwardly on account of the grace in which God made you to stand, and to commit your sufferings and your comfort to the will of God alone. Remember what the Holy Spirit says : "Tarry thou the Lord's leisure : be strong, and He shall comfort thine heart ; and put thou thy trust in the Lord." When you feel want and poverty closing around you, then be sure that the Lord is greatly multiplying His grace upon you. This would I have to be your consolation : hereby I would have you to strengthen your hope : "He shall make thy righteousness as clear as the light : and thy just dealing as the noon-day." Since I know not how God is about to dispose of me, I dare not promise you any compensation from myself, but I can display the good-will God has given me towards you, and which you have deserved. Of a certainty, I long, should I by God's gift have the opportunity, to be of use to you both

bodily and spiritually. May Almighty God ever cause you to rejoice in His protection and comfort, my dearest brother. Amen.

51. TO FARMAN, ORDUVINUS, AND BENJAMIN.

Anselm the archbishop to his beloved sons Farman, Orduvinus, and Benjamin, greeting, the blessing of God, and his own.

I know, beloved sons, that the greatness of your love makes you desire my presence, that as sons to a father you may open your hearts to me and receive advice as to your several difficulties. But although it is well to have a good and laudable zeal, yet if that be not according to knowledge, it is not acceptable to God. You want leave to come to me, but it is most certainly true that it is more difficult, nay, more impossible, than you are aware of; the distance very great, the people foreign, the journey dangerous; monks of the same nation are being seized, ill-treated, their horses and whatever they have, taken from them. The necessary expense would be great, the toil severe, many the breaches of rule; the utility not so great but that others would think me deserving of blame should I give an easy consent to this. If you wish to bring to my knowledge the evils which are being caused in England and in the Church and which you see and hear, I know enough about them, I am powerless to remedy them; tell them to God, and while waiting for Him to remove them, pray. If you seek counsel concerning your souls, you have with you our venerable brother and son the Lord Prior Ernulph, a spiritual man, in whom abound by the grace of God both willingness and wisdom; whom as another self I sent unto you, in my place. Have recourse to him as if to me, believe him as you would me; acknowledge him in my place.

I grant the same in reference to the Lord Bishop Gondulph, should any desire so to do. To thee, son Farman, who wouldest have leave to live elsewhere, since amidst so much disquiet thou art as thou sayest, unable to save thy soul, I say that it is not fitting, while I cannot rule nor keep you together, that I should begin to disperse you. It is not therefore the part of wisdom either in you to ask, or in me to allow, this. Finally, if I permit one or two either to leave the realm because they desire to live elsewhere; or to leave the realm to come to me, there are so many with the same reason, that it could not be done without great scandal or great disturbance. Let therefore he who desires this have the same wisdom and patience that others have, that ye may all alike possess your souls in patience. To thee also, son Benjamin, who dost adjure me so forcibly and dost plead as an excuse that without me thy soul must be lost, I declare as to him whose soul I ought, and wish, to advise, that thou oughtest to do nothing so unreasonable, nor place thy soul and mine in so great danger. Since as far as in thee lies thou wouldest place thy soul in such peril, it is certain that for thy soul this is no salutary place. What thou dost ask for cannot in reason be done. It might perchance be done through headlong, excessive rashness; but it is not reasonable to follow whithersoever our soul's indiscreet inclination urges us, though it be with a good intention. I can't understand how thy soul can be in danger of perdition, just because thou canst not talk to me. For were I in some place thou couldst not possibly get to in this world or in the next life, yet oughtest thou not to despair of the salvation of thy soul. I therefore entreat and advise thee, dearest son, to bear without offence the ordinance of God concerning thy soul, and according as thou seest Him dispose of us and what belongs

to us, study thou as one who is wise and hath hope in God, to save thy soul. As to what you, my brother and son Orduvinus, suggest to me as reasons for my not returning to England, know that I fly neither from death, nor loss of limb, nor any injuries whatsoever, but from sin, and dishonour to God's Church, and chiefly to that of Canterbury. For if I were so to return as that it should not be plain that the king ought not to despoil me and usurp the things of the Church which are in my charge, as he has done; I should establish the bad, yea servile and wicked, customs for myself and my successors by my own example; which may God avert from me! Unless, therefore, he will acknowledge his error and make reparation to God for what he has done and is doing against me; so that neither himself nor his successor could on account of my example say to me or my successors that he is doing it according to custom, I cannot see, nor can any one of reasonable intellect, how I can be on terms with him or return to him, saving God's honour and my soul's health. If he doth to me what he ought to do, I will do what I ought for the honour of God. "The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds."

52. TO HENRY, KING OF THE ENGLISH.

To Henry, his beloved lord, by the grace of God King of England, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, offers faithful prayers and service.

It belongeth to me, if I hear that you are doing aught which is bad for your soul, not to hide this from you, lest, which God forbid! God should be displeased with you for doing what doth not please Him, and with me for my silence. I hear that your excellency is inflicting punishment on the English clergy, and

exacting fines from them, because they have not obeyed the order of the council which by your favour I held in London with other bishops and clerks. This has hitherto been unheard of, and never practised in the Church of God by any king or other ruler whatsoever. For according to the law of God it belongs to none to punish this class of offence save to the bishops, each in his own diocese ; or if these bishops should herein be neglectful, to the archbishop and primate. I therefore beg you, as a most dear lord whose soul I love more than this life of mine, and advise as one truly faithful to you both to your body and your soul, that you commit not this grave sin against ecclesiastical custom ; and if you have already begun, that you desist altogether. And I tell you that you must needs greatly fear lest money so obtained (not to mention how much it injures the soul) should, when you come to spend it, less avail than it will afterwards injure, your earthly affairs. Lastly, you know that in Normandy you received me into your peace, and restored to me my archbishopric ; and that the notice and punishment of such offences chiefly pertains to the archbishop, for I am bishop rather for spiritual oversight than for temporal possession. May Almighty God in this and all your other actions so direct your heart according to His will, as that after this life He may^e guide you to His glory.

53. TO HENRY, KING OF THE ENGLISH.

To his beloved lord, Henry, the renowned king of the English, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, offers faithful service, and his prayers.

For that your highness in your letter salutes me in so honourable a manner and with such affectionate good-will, I thank you heartily, as I ought. But when

you so earnestly beg me not to be displeased at there being so long a delay in sending your ambassador to Rome ; though I ought not, so far as in me lies, lightly to esteem your request, yet is the cause more God's than mine ; whence out of a faithful heart and mind well-disposed towards you I tell you what I must not leave unsaid. That a thing should be displeasing to me, unless it displeases on God's account, is no great matter ; but to displease God in the least is by no means to be lightly thought of ; as it displeases God not a little to spoil an archbishop of his goods, the which you have already, by God's inspiration, amended. But for a bishop to be separated from his flock, and the church from its bishop, without a reason approved by God, He considers a very serious thing. Therefore turn your mind speedily to arranging how you may be satisfied, so that I, being, such as I am, a bishop of the church which God has commended to your royal power and to your realm, to guard, may speedily be restored to your peace, and may no longer be debarred from the opportunity of exercising according to my ability the office for which I was there placed. I am also in great fear lest it displease God, and lest the lord pope justly blame me because, though it is so long since you and I met together at the Eagle's Castle, I have never as yet sent him an ambassador from whom He might learn what was settled between us on such an important matter, and what remains to be completed, and through whom I might receive his advice and commands. Wherefore it is dangerous for me to wait longer for your ambassador, whom I had hoped was going to return from Rome before next Christmas, as I understand you : particularly as, by whose advice or for what reason I know not, you have not yet made any final arrangement. Since, therefore, that I am unable to be

present with the church committed to me ought to be of far more consequence to me than any question about landed property, I implore you to name to me by letter some no distant time when I may expect your ambassador to be returning from Rome, for I dare not put off longer than next Christmas, at the very latest, sending my own ambassador. Farewell.

54. ANSELM TO GUARNERIUS.

Anselm, archbishop, to Guarnerius his brother and son beloved, greeting and God's blessing, and his own.

For the affection which I perceive in thy letter to me, and for thy desire for my return, I return thee as a brother and beloved son, my thanks. My return, God willing, I shall not defer when by His providence I shall perceive that I can carry it out rightly. But I warn thee as one the care of whose soul God committed to me, that thou be not negligent in learning and keeping the rule thou didst accept, but set thy whole heart on advancing in those things which belong to the perfection of a monk. For it is certain that if a monk be tepid in his resolution as a novice, he will hardly ever, or never, be fervid in his religious life as a monk. That therefore which thou wouldst be found in the days of thy death, the same seek to prove thyself every day; and always as though thou wert dying, each day, prepare to give an account of thy life, and thus thou wilt advance from virtue to virtue.

55. TO HENRY, KING OF THE ENGLISH.

To Henry, his beloved lord, by the grace of God king of the English, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, presents his faithful service, and prayers.

Your highness by letter desired me to send you some confidential person to whom you might safely entrust whatever you might want to tell me. I therefore send a brother called Gislebert, a monk of Bec, a close friend of my own, whom you may trust as myself with anything you may wish to tell me. He will also tell you how the Lords Baldwin and William had already started on their journey to Rome when I received your letter; and what we have heard about the apostolic bishop Paschal and about him who is said to have accepted his see by robbery. I only say this: that Paschal who fills the apostolic see was ecclesiastically elected in the sight of God, and has already been accepted and confirmed by the whole Church Catholic. But that usurper of whom report speaks hath neither been elected nor acknowledged unless by the children of the devil and enemies of the Church of God. Let us therefore wait until there come upon him, if it has not already come, what the Lord said: "Every plant, which my Heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." Nor should any Christian be troubled, if the Church of Christ does suffer persecution: He Himself underwent it, and foretold it for that same Church: saying "In the world ye shall have tribulation," adding for her comfort "but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." Almighty God make you so to reign in this life over the English as that in the next you may reign among angels.

56. ANSELM TO HIS BISHOPS.

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to his friends and fellow-bishops, from whom he received a letter by the bearer of this, greeting.

I grieve, and sympathise with you about the trials

which you and the Church of England are enduring ; but at the present time I am unable to help you according to your desire and my own, since I am not yet sure what and how much I can do, until I know from our ambassadors whom I am expecting presently to return from Rome, what they have been able to arrange with the lord pope. But it is good and pleasant to me that you know at least what your sufferings have effected, to say the least : and that you promise me your aid not in my cause, but in God's cause, and press me not to be slow in coming to you. Although I cannot do this now, because the king will not as yet suffer me to be in England, unless I will disobey the command of the pope and agree with his own will and pleasure ; and I am not yet certain what I can do, as I said ; yet I rejoice in your good will as bishops and the constancy you promise, and the exhortation you address to me. But that I should cause some of you to come to me, as you propose, lest while we are apart from each other those who seek their own advantage should alter my opinion, I do not at present think advisable. I hope in God that no one could turn away my heart from the truth, so far as I know it, and that very soon God will show what it is that I can do, and I will let you know as quickly as I can. What you ought to do in the meantime, your prudence well enough knows ; yet will I say that I, so far as, placing my hope in God, I am acquainted with my own conscience, would not to save my life give my consent to, nor make myself either the instrument or author of, evil ; which has I hear lately been promulgated among the churches of England. Farewell.

57. TO HUGH, ARCHBISHOP OF LYONS.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to his lord and father Hugh, the revered Archbishop of Lyons, truly loved mother church; mayest thou comprehend what is of deepest and greatest worth.

What I have done since I left your amiable paternity, and what there is between the King of England and myself, I need not give a long account of in a letter, since the bearers of this can tell it better and more fully by word of mouth. But since in all I do I would rather, if so it might be, go by your advice than by that of any man I have ever known, and particularly in this business for which I am sending these messengers to Rome, I humbly ask that they may be instructed and fortified by your prudence. I even venture to ask that if it seems advisable to your holiness, you might suggest something to the lord pope so that he might know how to set this matter right. For you know that when any matter depends upon the advice of several people, as they have not all the same impression of it, so do they not all offer the same suggestion. Therefore since I am sure that your mind is firmly fixed in the truth, I should wish your opinion to be present wherever the liberty of the Church of God and its true utility are under discussion. The whole difficulty of the case between me and the king appears chiefly to consist in this, that the king, although he will I hope suffer himself to be conquered as to the ecclesiastical investitures by the decrees of the apostolic see, yet will not, so he says, dismiss the nominees of the patrons. On which point he is referring by his embassy to the apostolic see, that he may obtain leave thence to carry out his own will. Which should he obtain, I doubt as to what I ought to do if he should refuse to let any religious elected be made the

king's man for a bishopric or abbey. It would appear very difficult for me to enjoin this upon him as a matter of obedience; and if I were not to do it, I should appear to be acting according to the will of the impious, and allowing audacity to gain unworthy possession of dignities. As to those also who have already accepted forbidden investitures, and those who consecrated them, I think the king will demand that they shall continue to hold what they presumed unlawfully to assume. Wherefore on these matters, and those concerning which I seek wisdom from you through my messengers, I propose to get your opinion. May Almighty God keep your holiness safe in all prosperity. Amen.

58. TO EULALIA, ABBESS.

Anselm the archbishop to the reverend Abbess Eulalia and her daughters, greeting.

I thank your devout affection for that you prayed for me whilst I was in exile out of England, desiring my return; but now I ask you to pray with still more earnestness that my return may be prosperous. I wish you to know that my affection for you has existed ever since I knew you, and still lives and continues, and will continue, God willing, as long as I live. Wherefore since that affection is an abiding thing, although you need it not, yet would I write you somewhat whereby you may be assured that I love you and have a care for you. You, my beloved sisters, and daughters mine, I exhort and advise to be subject and obedient to your mother not only as under a human eye, but as in the sight of God, from whom nothing is hidden. For then is true obedience, when the will of the subordinate so obeys the will of the superior as that wherever the sub-

ject may be, he wills that which he knows the superior wishes, so it be not against the will of God. Your community ought to be the temple of God; and the temple of God is holy. If therefore you live, as I hope, holy lives, you are the temple of God. You live holy lives if you carefully keep your rule and vow; you do this with care, if you despise not the smallest things. For your intention should be always to strive after perfection, and with all your heart to hate falling back. For it is written: "He who contemneth small things shall fall by little and little." But he who falls back can make no progress. Therefore if you wish to advance, and dread falling back, do not despise small things: for as it is true that he who despiseth small things shall by little and little lose ground, so is it true that he who despiseth not trifles, shall gradually get on. Do not consider any sin small, although one may be greater than another. For nothing ought to be called small which is done through disobedience, which itself alone drove man out of paradise. And what small sin can there be, if according to Him who is Truth, whoso is angry with his brother without a cause is worthy of judgment, and whoso sayeth "Raca" worthy of the council, and whoso shall say "thou fool" shall be worthy of hell fire? I pray you therefore, dearest daughters, to neglect nothing, but seek to guard your deeds and thoughts as ever in God's sight. Have peace among yourselves, for in peace room is made for God, and there is much peace to those who love God's law, and in them is no offence. With heart and mouth I pray for God's blessing upon you, for His pardon for you; and I give and send my own, might it aught avail. So far as it can. Farewell.

59. TO HENRY, KING OF THE ENGLISH.

Anselm, archbishop, to his beloved lord, Henry, by the grace of God King of England and Duke of Normandy, sendeth faithful service and prayers.

Your highness sent me word by the bishop elect of Winchester that I should write and tell you whether the Lord Hervey, Bishop of Bangor, could be made a bishop in the diocese of Lyons. I do not see how this could easily be done. For as no bishops ought to be consecrated for any church without the assent and agreement of the archbishops and other bishops throughout the province, so he who is consecrated bishop cannot be made a bishop of any other province without the agreement and consent of the archbishop and bishops of that same province and the authority of the apostolic see, nor without leave from the archbishops and bishops of the province wherein he was consecrated. Which permission cannot be given without long and joint inquiry and deliberation by those without whom he could not, as I said, be consecrated; even although his bishopric should seem to be so completely annihilated that he cannot stay there. May Almighty God direct you in this and in all your actions. Amen.

60. TO MABILIA, A NUN.

Anselm the archbishop to his dearest daughter, the nun Mabilia, greeting, and God's blessing, and his own.

I love thee, and as I love my own soul, so do I love thine. But I so love my own as that it may attain to enjoy God and may enjoy Him in the life that shall be; this I love, this I desire, for thee. Wherefore as a

most dear daughter do I exhort and warn thee not to take delight in worldly things, since no one can love at once the good things of earth and of heaven. I would not have thee love secular, but religious, society. Thou hast nought to do with this world. If thou wouldst be a nun, a spouse of God, say with the blessed apostle Paul: "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world;" reckon all things in this transitory world as but dung, with the same apostle. My daughter, what necessity is there for thee to pay visits to certain of thy relations? since they in no way need thy advice and help, nor canst thou receive from them any counsel or aid in keeping thy vow and profession which thou couldst not find in thy cloister. The aim of thy life is distracted by their society. Neither will they for thee put on religion, nor wilt thou because of them return to the secular life. What therefore, my beloved, hast thou, in God, to do with them, if thou art of no use to them in the life they are leading, nor they to thee in that which thou art bound to prefer? If they want to see thee, or in any way need thy advice or help, let them come to thee, for they may roam and run hither and thither; but do not thou consent to go to them, for thou oughtest not to leave the cloister except for some necessity which God shall make plain. Choose not, my daughter, wish not, to love the world, for the "friend of the world is the enemy of God." Desire not to love the world's friendship, since by so much the more as thou by thy own will art its friend, so much the less wilt thou be a friend of God and of the angels, who are nearest to Him. Be not anxious to be known in the world, for all the more God will say to thee, "I never knew thee." Long to please God only: desire to know God alone, and such things as may further this your longing and knowledge. To Him commend

yourself daily. I, as far as in me lies, commend you to Him. May He ever rule and guide and guard thee. Amen.

61. TO MATILDA, QUEEN OF THE ENGLISH.

To his lady and dearest daughter, Matilda, by the grace of God illustrious Queen of the English, Anselm the archbishop presents his faithful service and prayers ; —may you by God's grace rejoice always in this life and in the next.

The bearer of this brought me your seal, and a letter from you which informed me that you desire his disgrace should be removed on the strength of a letter from me, because of a certain justification he has pleaded, and that through my intercession he should recover from my lord the king what he had by the king's command lost. I neither ought, nor wish, to despise your expressed desire ; but I am quite certain of the kindness of your highness, and that you would not wish me to act otherwise than as I ought. For your prudence knows that it belongs not to me to bear witness to what I neither heard nor saw ; but to those who did witness it : nor is it my part to intercede for him whose life and character I know nothing about, in order that he may regain that which by royal command he lost. Therefore I beg that your highness' kind heart may not take offence because I hesitate to do that which I perceive to be no part of my duty. May Almighty God by His blessing continually protect and guide you. Amen.

62. TO HELGOTUS, ABBOT OF ST ANDÆNUS.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, the truly loved to his friend the Reverend Abbot of the

Monastery of St Andænus, Helgotus, wishes whatever of the best he can wish for a friend.

One true friend is ever anxious about another as that other is about him ; desiring to know about the other's concerns that he may either rejoice or suffer with him according to what the circumstances may be. And whereas no one loves sorrow ; yet strangely enough should there be any cause for condoling, he would rather know it that he may sympathise than be ignorant, to avoid grief. Your affection, so sweet to me and so loved by me, wishes to know my state, and everything about me, that your heart may feel for me just as mine is feeling. By the providence of God's grace, and the help of your prayers and those of other servants of God who are my friends, I have lately returned to England: and with as great joy and honour as men could possibly show, was I received by great and small, by nobles and people. And what you heard as to my lord the king having committed all his kingdom and possessions to my charge so that my will should be in everything obeyed as his own, is true. Herein he showed the goodness of his intentions and his great love for me. But since it is written, "All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient," and elsewhere : "All things are lawful unto me, but all things edify not," I do not think it advisable to begin as yet to attempt anything great by myself; but since God has brought the king back to the good disposition I perceive in him towards us, I hope that God by His grace will through him work many things to His own honour, whence we may rejoice. So far as the changes of this world allow, all my affairs both bodily and otherwise are by God's gift prospering, except as to my bodily weakness, which I daily feel to be increasing. May all the blessings which in your

elatter you invoke for me, come also upon your own head. I greet our brethren, your beloved sons, and beg them to remember me.

63. TO ALEXANDER, KING OF THE SCOTS.

To Alexander, by the grace of God King of the Scots, Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, greeting, with his earnest prayers and God's blessing, and, so far as it availeth, his own.

I and all the congregation of the Church of Christ in Canterbury give thanks to God and rejoice that God has raised you to your father's kingdom by hereditary succession after your brother, and that he has adorned you with qualities suitable for a ruler. For your brother who by a holy life by the mercy of God, attained to make a good end thereof, we do as friends for our friends pray, and will according to your petition pray, that God may grant his soul to enjoy the eternal gladness of His glory with His elect, and give to him eternal blessedness. I know that your highness loves and desires my advice. First of all therefore I pray God so to direct you by the grace of His Holy Spirit, and so to give you wisdom in all your actions that He may bring you after this life to His heavenly kingdom. My chief advice would be that by the help of Him who gave you His fear and those good and pious habits which you acquired in youth and from your childhood upwards, you should strive to hold these fast. For kings rule well, when they live according to God's will, and serve Him with reverence; and when they keep rule over themselves nor yield to vicious ways, but with stedfast strength conquer those importunate temptations. For constancy in virtue and royal fortitude are not inconsistent in a king. For a king's constancy in

virtue is not inconsistent with royal power. Some kings, as David, both lived holily and ruled the people committed to their charge with strict justice and gentle kindness, according as need required. So behave yourself as that the bad shall fear and the good love you ; and that your life may always please God, ever let your mind retain a vivid impression of the punishment of the evil and the reward of the good after this life. May Almighty God commit you and all your actions to His righteous direction and to no other. For our brethren whom we sent to Scotland according to the will of your brother who has passed from this life's toil as we believe to his rest, we do not think it necessary to ask your protection, since we are not ignorant of your kindness and good-will.

64. TO ROBERT AND HIS SISTERS AND DAUGHTERS.

Anselm, archbishop, to his friend and dearly loved son, Robert, and to his dearest sisters and daughters, Seit, Edit, and Hydit, Luveris, Virgit, Godit, greeting, and God's blessing, and his own, if it aught avail.

I rejoice in, and thank God for, your holy purpose and the holy intercourse which you have with each other in the love of God and of a holy life, as I learnt from our brother and son, William. Your affection, so dear to me, beloved daughters, requests me to write to you some suggestions which may teach and incite you to live aright ; though you have with you my dear son Robert, whom God has taught to watch over you in Him and to teach you day by day both by word and by example how you ought to live. Since, however, I ought to respond to your petition if I can, I will try to write some words, in accordance with your desires. Dearest daughters, every praiseworthy, every repreh-

sible action, is deserving of praise or blame solely from the will. For out of the will grows the root, arises the source, of actions which are within our power; and if we are not able to do what we would, still each one will be judged before God according to the intention of his own will. Be therefore anxiously careful, not so much about what you do, as about what you desire; not so much what your actions are, as what your will is. For every action which is rightly done, that is, with an upright will, is good; and that which is done with a faulty will, is not good; from his upright will is a man designated just, from an evil will is he called unjust. If therefore you wish to live well, incessantly mount guard over your will both in great things and in the least; in those which lie within your power and those which you cannot do, lest it should at all swerve from rectitude. But, if you wish to be sure that your will is upright: that will most certainly is so which is subject to the will of God. When therefore you are preparing to do or thinking of doing something important, say thus in your hearts: "Doth God will that I should will this, or not?" If your conscience answers you, "Truly God doth will that I should so will, and such a desire pleaseth Him," then whether you can carry it out or not, cherish that will and intention. But if your conscience testifies to you that God doth not desire you to have that volition, then with all your might turn your heart away from it; and if you wish to drive it entirely away from you, as far as you can shut out the thought and recollection of it from your heart. By whatever means however you banish from you an evil will or evil thoughts, consider this little bit of advice which I give you, and hold it fast. Do not struggle with wrong thoughts or an evil desire, but when they annoy you, persistently occupy your mind with some profitable

reflection and wish. For no thought or desire is expelled from the heart except by some other thought or wish that does not agree with it. So therefore treat any unprofitable thoughts and wishes as that your mind, straining its every effort after such as are useful, may disdain even to remember or glance at the others. If when you wish to pray, or attend to some good meditation, thoughts trouble you to which you ought not to grant admittance, never choose for their importunity to set aside the good action you had entered on, lest their inspirer, the devil, should rejoice at having made you desist from the good you had begun ; but by the method I have just mentioned, by despising them, overcome them. Neither do you either grieve or be gloomy because of their molestation (so long as, despising them as I said before, you yield no consent to them) : lest on account of this sadness they return again to the memory and revive their importunity. For it is a habit of the human mind that what pleases or grieves it returns to its recollection oftener than what it feels or thinks with indifference. In like wise should any one who intends to lead a holy life proceed with regard to any unadvisable impulse, whether of body, or mind, as of temptation, or anger, or envy, or vain-glory. For they are most easily extinguished when we disdain to feel them, or think about them, or do anything through their influence. Nor fear lest this class of impulses or thoughts be imputed to you as sin, if your will in no degree joins closely to them, for there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh. But this, to walk after the flesh, is to be in agreement with the carnal will. But "flesh" is the name given by the Apostle to every wrong impulse whether of soul or body, when he says, "the flesh striveth against the

spirit, and the spirit against the flesh." We therefore easily annihilate suggestions of this sort if we obliterate their very germ, according to the advice before given; but only with difficulty when once we have admitted them fully-grown into our minds. To thee, dearest friend and son Robert, I give all the thanks I can for the care and love thou bearest for God's sake to these his hand-maidens; and I pray most earnestly thou mayest go on in this holy and pious mind. For thou mayest be assured that a great reward awaits thee from God for these holy efforts. May Almighty God be ever the guardian of all your life. Amen. May the almighty and merciful God grant you remission of all your sins, and ever make you advance with humility to better things and never to sink back. Amen.

65. TO TUROLD, A MONK OF BEC.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to his brother and friend Turold, by the grace of God monk at Bec, greeting: and mayest thou persevere to the end in thy holy purpose.

Blessed be God in His gifts and holy in His works, who turned your heart from vanity to verity. For all those follow vanity who desire dignities and honours and riches of this world, for these cannot by any means as they promise satisfy the mind; but the more they abound, so much the more do they produce a thirst in the soul, nor do they conduct into any good end. But those hold the truth who with all their hearts despise earthly and transitory things, and with all their power rise to true humility. For to spiritual eyes they who humble themselves never appear to descend, but to mount up the heavenly hill whence one ascends to the celestial kingdom. The divine clemency has

directed you into the road to paradise, nay rather, placed you in a kind of paradise in this life when it led you into the cloistered life of religious vows. Let your prudence take care therefore that your heart look not backwards. The monk looks backwards, when he often recalls to mind what he once abandoned. Which if he frequently does, divine love grows cold in him, and the love of the world revives, with dislike to and weariness of his vow. Therefore as your body is isolated from secular business let your heart ever be separated from worldly thoughts, and always busy with some useful and spiritual meditation. May the Holy Spirit ever make you to rejoice and to give thanks to God for the good you have begun. Amen.

66. TO BASILIA.

Anselm the archbishop to Basilia his friend, his beloved daughter in the Lord, greeting, and the blessing of God, and his own if it be worth anything.

I learnt from your messengers that you eagerly desire a letter from me; in this I perceive your good will and Christian aim, for I do not see any reason why you should desire it, except that you may thence receive some wholesome advice for your soul. Therefore although the whole of the sacred Scripture teaches you how you ought to live, if you have it explained to you, yet I must not be stingy, or inexorable to your religious petition. I will therefore, beloved daughter, tell you something, which, if you will frequently consider it with the full force of your mind, will enable you to influence your heart greatly with the fear of God and love of a virtuous life. Let it always be before your mind's eye that the present life has an end; and that man knows not when the last day, towards

which by day and night he is incessantly approaching, shall arrive. The present life is a journey. For so long as a man lives, he is always moving. Always is he either mounting, or going downwards towards hell. When he does any good deed, he takes one step upwards ; but when in any way he sins, he takes one step downwards. This ascent or descent is known by every soul when it goes out of the body. That one who carefully strives by a pure life and good works to rise while it lives here, will be placed in heaven with the holy angels ; and the one who descends by a wicked life, will be buried in hell with the evil spirits. It is also to be noted that it is a very much quicker and easier road by which one goes down than that by which one goes up. Wherefore in each one of their decisions and actions a Christian man or woman ought carefully to consider whether they are going up or down, and with their whole heart to embrace those which they see will help them upwards ; and those by which they perceive a descent towards hell to be made, flee from and abjure. I therefore warn and advise you, friend and loved daughter in God, that so far as, God helping you, you are able, you draw back from every sin, large or small, and practise yourself in deeds of holiness. I pray Almighty God to protect, direct, keep you always and everywhere. Amen.

67. TO LAMBERT, ABBOT OF ST BERTINUS.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to his dearest friend, to Lambert, reverend abbot of the monastery of St Bertinus, sends greeting and love, with prayers.

Since the Church of Rheims desires and demands your reverence (as you write me word) for the post of

its archbishop, your prudence asks advice of my littleness as to what you should do in so important, burdensome, and perilous an affair. In the first place, I pray God that He would allow nothing to be done with you but what He pleases and what is good for you. But since you ask my advice ; so far as I can see, it appears to me best for you that your will, so far as in you lies, should give consent to, you should say, do, nothing which might conduce to this end, that you should be withdrawn by any means from the burden to which you are called. No necessity compels you, beyond obedience pure and simple. Now you need acknowledge no obligation to obedience save to the lord abbot of Cluny, under whom you placed yourself. But what you say, that you would rather incur the sin of disobedience than undertake so burdensome a charge, so laborious a burden, is not my advice. For disobedience not followed by penitence is more dangerous than obedience which in the hope of God's mercy undertakes even that which seems impossible. Because, the power and merit of obedience, when that alone urges one into danger, either defends one from sin, or if perchance one does err, it is but a slight error if ever attended by repentance. But not one of the good deeds of him who lives in a state of disobedience is done without a stain being left upon it.

68. TO MURIARDACHUS, KING OF IRELAND.

To Muriardachus by the grace of God illustrious King of Ireland, Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, sends greeting and his prayers, and may the mercy of God ever guide and protect him.

I give thanks to God for the many good things I hear of your highness. Among which is this, that you

cause the people of your realm to live in such peace as that all good men who hear of it give thanks to God and desire for you a long life. For where there is peace, it is possible for all the well-disposed to do what they choose without being disturbed by the bad. Wherefore your highness, by whom God has done these things, may most certainly look for great reward from Him. Upon this foundation of peace it is easy to build the other things which are required by the religion of the Church. I therefore pray for the permanence of your good dispositions, that you may examine where there are any things in your kingdom which need alteration, on account of the reward of eternal life; and for the continual increase of God's grace in you, so that you may earnestly seek, God helping you, to amend them. For nothing which can be corrected should be thought trifling, since God sets down to the account of all not only the evil they do, but likewise the evils they do not correct when they can. And the more powerful those who ought to correct them may be, the more strictly will God require of them in proportion to the power mercifully entrusted to them, that they should will and act rightly. Which seems chiefly to apply to kings, since they are known to have the chief power among men and that which is the least opposed. But if you cannot do everything at once, you ought not on this account to give up trying to go on from good things to better, since God is wont graciously to perfect good intentions and good efforts, and to requite them with perfect bliss. I hear that marriages are dissolved and rearranged most irregularly in your kingdom, and that those nearly related to each other scruple not against the canonical prohibition to live together, either under the name of wedlock or in some other fashion, and this they do openly, without

incurring any censure. Also, the bishops who ought to be the pattern and example of canonic rule to others, are, so I hear, consecrated irregularly either by a single bishop or in places where they should not be ordained. These, and other things which the greatness of your wisdom shall perceive to need correction in Ireland, I beg, adjure, and advise you, as one whom I greatly love, and whose progress in all ways I long for, to seek to correct in your kingdom according to the advice of good and wise men; and I pray God that you may go from your earthly kingdom to the heavenly kingdom. Amen.

69. TO MURIARDACHUS, KING OF IRELAND.

To Muriardachus the illustrious King of Ireland, Anselm the archbishop, servant of the Church of Canterbury: faithful obedience with prayers: by the earthly mayest thou attain to the heavenly kingdom.

Since many things are told me of your excellence which become the royal dignity, we rejoice greatly; and give therefor devout thanks to God from whom is every good thing. I am also sure that He who gave you His grace to do the right things you already perform, will also give you a desire to do whatever you shall perceive He requires of you beyond what you are doing. Wherefore, illustrious son and well-beloved in God, I beg that you will with the utmost speed and care amend those things in your realm which you may perceive require amendment according to the religion of Christ. For God has placed you on a royal height that you may govern your subject people with a rod of equity, and that whatever among them is against right and justice, you should with that same rod smite and remove. And yet it is said that one thing is done among that people, which very greatly needs alteration,

for it is entirely contrary to the Christian religion. For it is said that men exchange their wives for the wives of others, as they might exchange one horse for another, or any other thing for something else ; or they abandon them from mere fancy, without cause or rule. How wrong this is, anyone understands who knows the Christian law. If therefore your excellence is unable to read for yourself the sayings of the Holy Scriptures which forbid this infamous exchange, desire the bishops and clerks regular who are in your kingdom to read them to you, so that having learnt them, you may perceive with what anxious care you should investigate, and take measures for the correction of, this evil. It is also said that in your realm bishops are elected at random and appointed without any distinct place for their episcopate, and are ordained bishop by a single bishop, as any priest might be. Now this is quite contrary to the apostolic canons ; which direct that those who are thus instituted and ordained, are with those who consecrated them, to be deposed from the episcopal office. For a bishop cannot be appointed according to God unless he have a fixed parish and parishioners whom he is to superintend, for even in secular things none can have the name or office of a shepherd, who has no flock to feed. It lowers also not a little the episcopal dignity when he is raised to the pontificate who knows not the limits of his rule nor whom he certainly governs by the ministry of the episcopal order. Also, none should be ordained by less than three bishops, both for many other and reasonable causes which the short space of a letter has no room for, and also that the faith, good character and wisdom of him who is to watch and rule, may be testified to by suitable and legal witnesses. I therefore pray, exhort, and advise that your excellence will take measures to have

these things in your realm amended, so that the reward which you have obtained from God for other good deeds may be increased to you for this. Finally, if you do on examination find aught in yourself or those who have been given you to rule which doth in any way resist God's will, strive carefully to amend it, that when you shall leave your earthly kingdom you may come to the heavenly kingdom. Amen. As to our brother Cornelius whom your highness asked me to send to you, I have to say that he is so occupied in attendance upon his father that he could not be separated from him without peril of the father's life, nor could he take him along with him, for he is very old indeed.

70. TO ODO, MONK.

Anselm the archbishop, to his beloved brother Odo, monk and cellarer, greeting and the blessing of God, and his own.

It is said that because you feel that from old age and sickness your end is approaching, you wish to give up the office wherein hitherto you have served God and the cloister of the church where you dwell. But I should like it to be known to your affection that this is by no means a good intention. Certainly we ought to repent of evil deeds and give them up before our death, lest the last day find us in them. But as to good works, we should persevere in them to the end, that our soul may be removed from the midst of them when it leaves this life. For concerning those who persevere in good works is it said: "Whoso persevereth unto the end, the same shall be saved;"—not of those who leave their good work off before the end. It is therefore best for thy soul, brother and beloved son, that in that office which to the best of thine ability with the approval of

God (so far as I have been able to learn) and to the satisfaction of thine abbot and thy brethren thou hast held, thou shalt persevere as long as life shall last and thy abbot shall enjoin it upon thee, with willing and joyful mind, without any resentment or murmuring, so that in the very act of speaking, or arranging somewhat, concerning that office, thou mayst even render up thy soul. Thus will fall to thy share the promise which is assured to those who shall persevere unto the end. And fear not because on account of weakness of body thou art no longer able to fulfil thy duties and look after thy charge as thou didst formerly in health and youth. For God doth not ask of thee above what thou art able. Neither let any contradictions, from what quarter soever they come, with which the enemy seeks to vex and harass thy spirit so that thou mayest fail before the end and lose the reward of perseverance, disturb thee at all. Therefore I exhort and pray thee that thou firmly purpose in thy heart never so long as thou livest to desert the good work which hitherto God helping thee thou hast fulfilled, unless this be enjoined thee by thine abbot and thy brethren, not in consequence of thine importunity, but of their own free will. And be thou assured that the greater the difficulty with which, whether on account of thy weakness or of any contradictions whatsoever, thou fulfillest the duty enjoined thee, so much the greater the reward thou wilt receive from God. I pray God Almighty to direct thy heart, and so far as in me lies, I send to thee blessing and absolution from God, beloved brother.

71. TO THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Thomas, Archbishop-elect of York, greeting.

The canonical authority enjoins that no church of an episcopal see shall remain more than three months without a pastor. Since then it has pleased the king, by the advice of his barons and with my consent, that your person should be chosen to fill the archbishopric of York, the limit of delay thus wisely settled should not longer be extended by you. Wherefore I wonder that after your election you did not demand to be consecrated to that unto which you had been elected. So I give you notice that on the 24th of September you appear at our mother church of Canterbury, there to fulfil what you ought, and to receive consecration. If you do not come, it belongs to me to see to and to fulfil what appertains to the bishop's office in the archbishopric of York. Besides, I hear that you before being consecrated, want to cause the bishop-elect of St Andrews in Scotland to be consecrated at York, which neither ought you to do nor I to grant; I entirely forbid it to be done either for him, or for any other person who ought to be promoted to the government of souls by the Archbishop of York, since it belongeth not to you to give or grant to any one a cure of souls which you have not yet yourself received. Farewell.

72. TO GODFRID.

Anselm the archbishop to Godfrid: greeting and God's blessing, and his own.

Your nephew Juhel has told me about your mode of life, and he asked me from you to give you advice as to how you should live. But when I heard what your way of life was, I could not think of anything I should add to it, either of psalms, prayers, fastings, bodily severities, beyond what you have by the grace of God undertaken and do now fulfil. What therefore you now do, keep

to as long as you can do it and retain your bodily health. But should you feel that it is causing you to be ill, then I advise you to moderate it as you shall find to be advisable. For it is better to do part only with healthy body and a cheerful spirit, than by sickness to be reduced from that which you did joyously and well, to nothing at all; neither do you despise in any degree those who do it not, or think them to be any less meritorious than yourself in God's sight. For bodily exercise is good; but far more doth God love a heart full of piety, love, humility and longing to get as far as it can and to enjoy the fruition of God Himself. May Almighty God teach and strengthen and console you. I send you absolution from God—and if it avail aught—my own—for all your offences. I beg you, pray for me.

73. TO POPE PASCHAL THE SECOND.

To his beloved and revered lord and master Paschal, the supreme Pope, Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, sends his due obedience and his faithful prayers.

Since the consolidation and regulation of the Churches of God depends chiefly, after God, upon the authority of your paternity, I, when there is any cause for needing it, freely turn to you for help and advice. The Archbishop of York, Gerald by name, departed this life, another by name Thomas was elected in his stead. Concerning him the report goes that he is seeking the pall before being consecrated and making his acknowledgment to me according to the ancient custom of his predecessors and mine. Therefore the point of my request in this matter is that until he shall have been consecrated and have professed to me the obedience due, as I said, he shall not receive the pall from your

excellency. Which I say not concerning this because I envy him the pall, but because some claim, and even hold charges as though this had been granted by you, and they might feel assured that they can refuse me the due acknowledgment. But should this happen, know that the Church of England would be divided; and according to the Word of the Lord, "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation," it will be desolate, and the strictness of apostolic discipline will be not a little weakened therein. I also should on no account remain in England. For I neither ought to, nor can, suffer, as long as I live, that the primacy of our Church should be destroyed. Further, and with the same motive, I would suggest to your reverence, since the pall is requested by the Bishop of London, that he never had it; so that he can show no sort of argument in support of his claim. For some join together under this show of right, to humiliate (how, it matters not) the dignity of the primary see of Canterbury. I sent this year after Pentecost a letter to your holiness by Bernard, a servant of Master Peter, your chamberlain, saying that the King of England complains that you allow the King of Germany to give investitures of churches, without excommunication, and so threatens that he will most certainly resume his own investitures, since the other peacefully retains his. Let your prudence therefore decide without delay what you will do in this matter, lest what you are constructing so well should be irreparably destroyed. For our king is constantly asking what you will do as to the other king. Let us pray God to gladden us with your long-lasting prosperity.

74. TO THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to Thomas, archbishop.

To thee I speak, Thomas, in the sight of Almighty God, I, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all Britain, speaking in the cause of God Himself: the sacerdotal office which by my command in my diocese thou didst receive at the hands of my suffragan, I forbid thee to exercise, and enjoin thee not to presume to meddle in any manner with any pastoral care until thou dost retire from the rebellion which thou hast begun against the Church of Canterbury, and shalt have made the submission to that see which thy predecessors Thomas and Gerard professed according to the ancient custom of their predecessors. And shouldst thou rather love to persist in the designs on which thou hast entered than to give them up, I forbid all the bishops of all Britain under a perpetual anathema, to lay, any one of them, hands on thee to promote thee to the episcopate; or shouldst thou be promoted by foreigners, to acknowledge thee as a bishop in any Christian communion whatever. Thee, Thomas, I also forbid, under pain of the same anathema, ever to receive consecration to the bishopric of York, until thou hast first made that submission which thy predecessors Thomas and Gerard made to the Church of Canterbury. But if thou wilt entirely give up the bishopric of York, I allow thee to exercise the sacerdotal office which thou didst formerly receive.

75. TO HENRY, KING OF THE ENGLISH.

To his illustrious lord, Henry, by the grace of God king of the English, Anselm the archbishop presents faithful service and prayers.

I pray you, my dearest lord, as lord and king and guardian of the Church of God committed to you, to hear with attention the complaint of this monk from M., and I beg that, according as you may think becoming for you and expedient for the Church, he may feel your loyal and paternal assistance and consolation. For my own part, as being most devoted to you, to your soul and your body and to your true honour, I advise and exhort you that you do not, by setting over the Churches of God such as you ought not, and otherwise than as you ought, and by the advice of those by whose advice you ought not, that you do not, I say, draw upon yourself, which God forbid! the anger of God. It is a fact that already in some matters counsellors who as to your soul's welfare are evil and unfaithful, have advised you otherwise than was expedient. May Almighty God grant you so to rule over what He has given into your charge as that He may rule you, and keep you safe from all harm.

76. TO A CERTAIN LADY.

Anselm, by the ordinance of God Archbishop of Canterbury, to a certain lady: mayst thou despise the world, not Christ, and love Christ more than the world.

Most gladly would I speak with thee face to face, if I could, sister dearly loved in the Lord, for the charity whereby I desire all men to be saved and the office laid upon me, both require me to love thee with brotherly and fatherly affection, and through that love to have a care as to thy soul's salvation. But since no opportunity can occur for our conversing together, a necessity is laid upon me of writing what I think of thee and what I want of thee.

I adjure thee therefore not to despise the love where-with, on account of God and the honour of God, and for thy salvation, I love thee, nor to reject my advice. Now if thou wilt choose to assent to what I say, be sure that thou wilt in the end be very glad, and there will be joy over thee among the angels of God. But if thou wilt not, know that thou wilt be very sorry indeed and wilt be without excuse in the strict judgment of God. I hear, my sister, that long ago thou didst wear the habit of holy religion ; how thou didst leave it off, what thou hast suffered, what done, is no secret but very well known.

Think now therefore, dearly beloved, how distant are human embraces and carnal pleasure, from the embrace of Christ and the happiness of chastity and purity of heart. I do not mean the personal embrace of Christ, but that union which takes place through love and longing for Him in the soul that lives near Him in a good conscience. Think, I say, what the difference is between these two pleasures ; I am not now speaking of lawful marriage. Think, I say, how great is the purity of spiritual, how great the impurity of carnal pleasure ; what the spiritual promises, and the carnal threatens ; how great in the spiritual is the hope and how enjoyable the expectation of Christ, how great even in this world is its security and comfort ; how great in the carnal the fear of God's judgments, how great its shame even in this present life. Reflect what it is to reject Christ thy spouse promising thee the dowry of His heavenly kingdom, and to prefer a mortal man giving and promising corruption and contemptible things alone, to the Son of God, the King of kings. Of a surety that King of kings desired thy beauty, as that of a lawful spouse.

But after what manner he (whom thou knowest),

grasped at the beauty of thy outward form, how shall I tell? high-born woman, how can I say it? A spouse of God, a virgin, thou wert chosen; and set apart to wear the dress and live the life devoted to God. What can I say thou art now, my daughter? God knoweth. I say not this to enjoy thy confusion, but that God may joy, and the angels rejoice with Him over thy conversion and loving penitence. What then can I call thee? If I say it not, thou wilt perhaps give no heed, if I do, perchance thou wilt be angry.—Once chosen, and sealed, and espoused by God, what art thou become? Let thy nobility be ashamed of what thou dost blush to hear, and I because of thy noble birth and my own affection am ashamed to say. Behold, dear daughter, if thou dost but set these things fully before thee, what grief should be in thy heart for thy so great and so grievous fall? But if thou dost bitterly grieve, I grieving with thee shall greatly rejoice; if however thou sorrowest not, I have no cause for joy but grieve much the more. For if thou dost grieve, I still hope for thy salvation; if however thou hast no sorrow, what can I look for but thy condemnation?

For it is impossible for thee by any means to be saved, unless thou shalt return to thy rejected habit and thy vow. For although thou wast not consecrated by the bishop, nor didst thou read thy profession before him, yet this was by itself a clear and undeniable profession, in that thou both in public and private didst wear the habit belonging to the holy life, whereby thou didst declare thyself to all who saw thee, to be dedicated to God, no less than by reading thy profession. For before there was the now customary profession of the monastic vow, or the consecration, many thousand human beings of both sexes by their dress alone declaring themselves to be under the vow,

followed on to blessedness and a crown. And any who then rejected the habit assumed without that profession and consecration were considered as apostates. Thou art therefore without excuse if thou desert the holy vow which thou didst long ago profess by thy habit and mode of life, although thou didst not read the now usual profession and wert not consecrated by the bishop. Assuredly, dearest daughter, the Lord is still waiting for thee, thy Creator and Redeemer: the King who desired thy beauty, that He might be thy lawful spouse, still waits for thee and calls thee back, that thou mayst be His true spouse, and if not a virgin yet, at least, chaste. For we know of several holy women who after the loss of their virginity pleased God and were nearer to Him by penitence in chastity than several others, although holy, in virginity.

Return therefore, Christian woman, return into thine heart, and think whom thou shouldst rather love, to whom the rather cling; whether to Him who chose thee for such an honourable position, and choosing called thee, and gave thee the habit befitting His bride, and still although spurned and rejected, waits for thee and calls thee back; or him through whom, to say the least, thou hast fallen down from such exaltation to where thou now seest thyself thrown? particularly when he now already, as I think, despises thee, or doubtless will despise and desert thee. And may you so mutually spurn each other as that God may not spurn you; may you so desert each other as that God may not desert you; may you so reject each other, as that God may not drive you far from His face; so may you turn away from each other as that you may turn to God. Of a certainty far better and more honourable is it both for him and for thee that thou be spurned by him than that he should hold fast to thee, for so long as he clings

to thee, there is no doubt (to say nothing about him) *thou* wilt be rejected by God ; and if, rejected by him, thou reject him for God's sake, thou wilt, so far from being rejected by God, be received and loved by Him, as one redeemed by His own blood. Turn, oh daughter whose salvation I yearn for, turn the eye of thy mind towards the clemency of Him who being rejected calls back thee who hast spurned Him, that He may bring thee to His royal couch, not an earthly one, but a heavenly. Think, and let thine heart be shattered to pieces, sorrow vehemently over thy fall. Cast aside and tread under foot the secular dress thou hast assumed, and resume the habit of a spouse of Christ which thou didst throw off. For Christ will in nowise know or receive thee, except in that habit whereby He marked thee for Himself and by which thou hast in public and in private shown thyself to be His spouse. In that habit return thou into His favour again. Present thyself before Him while there is time. Accuse thine own conscience, bathe with tears thy sin. Pray to Him unweariedly, cling to Him inseparably : He is merciful. He will not reject thee ; but rather, rejoicing at thy return, will tenderly receive thee. If thou doest this, there will be joy over thee in heaven and in earth among all holy angels and men who know it. But if thou scornest to do this, all will be against thee, and I and the Church of God shall act as in such a case we know how to act. May Almighty God visit thine heart and pour into it His love, dearest daughter.

77. TO WILLIAM, BISHOP-ELECT OF WINCHESTER.

Anselm the archbishop, to his friend who loves him
William Elect-Bishop of Winchester, greeting.

Tell me whether at the next Ember Season you are

coming to me to receive the priesthood, and whether on the day after your reception of the priesthood you desire to receive episcopal consecration. I must know this beforehand, because if you are then to be consecrated bishop, I will come at that time to Canterbury and will invite some bishops to be with me and so perform such an office after a fitting manner. But if you wish to receive the priesthood only at the time before-mentioned, I shall not then come to Canterbury, since I could do that wherever I might be. Where I shall then be, I will give your affection notice beforehand.

78. TO MALCHUS, BISHOP OF WATERFORD.

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to his friend and fellow-bishop Malchus of Waterford, greeting and blessing.

I hear that the Lord Samuel, Bishop of Dublin, has ejected the monks of the church in Dublin for no reason, or for hardly any, nor will receive them back for any satisfaction; and that against rule he causes a cross to be borne before him on a journey, and disposes of the goods which archbishops gave to that church as though they were his own. I am writing to him about all these things, and I enjoin the inhabitants of that same city to prevent the property mentioned from being given away. And since I find not anyone to whom I could better send the said letter, I beg of your fraternity to give it to him in person; and warn him gently by word of mouth, praying and advising him to attend to the monition which I have sent in writing, and to obey it. Farewell.

79. TO BALDWIN, KING OF JERUSALEM.

Anselm, the archbishop, albeit unworthy, of Canterbury, to Baldwin, his beloved lord, by the grace of God King of Jerusalem: may you so reign in this life over the earthly Jerusalem, that you may in the next reign in the heavenly Jerusalem.

Although by the gift of God you have the knowledge which, God helping you, might suffice for living well, and although I know your intentions to be good, yet the abundant love I feel towards you induces me to write something, though from afar, to your highness. For as a fire already burning is fanned into brighter flame by a breeze, so is a good-will roused by friendly admonition into more vigorous action. You know, my beloved lord, how God chose the city of Jerusalem both before the coming of the Lord and in His coming, to be His very own and the joy of the whole earth. Hers were those first kings whom the Lord loved; out of her came the prophets, in her was the special house of God and His sanctuary; there was effected our redemption, there lived the King of kings; thence was diffused all over the world the salvation of the human race. Let your highness therefore consider what a very conspicuous favour from God it is that He should have chosen you to be king in this city; and with what desire and zeal that man should devote himself to the will of God and His service, whom He has made to be king there. I pray therefore, I adjure, I warn you, my lord and my friend, to try so to govern yourself and all beneath you according to the law and will of God, that you may set a bright example by your life to all the kings of the earth. May the Lord Jesus Christ so reign in your heart and over your actions, that you may, with King David your predecessor, reign

for ever in heaven. Amen. Know that I pray daily for you, poor though my prayers be.

80. TO G., CANON OF ST QUINTIN.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to his beloved brother and friend G., Canon of St Quintin : greeting, and may God ever guide you by His wisdom.

I hear that your fellow-brethren of B., canons of the church of St Quintin, wish, not inconsiderately, but for many reasons, to remove the Lord O., who is at present your abbot, from that dignity, and to substitute your fraternity in his place, but they fear lest your devout self should not easily consent to their intention, on account of your love for the peace you at present enjoy. Since therefore they know that you love my individual self ; and hope you will believe in my advice rather than in that of anyone else, they beg me to lay before your charity what I think about it. Now if in the body of Christ we are members one of another, and it is specially so in a congregation of religious ; if anyone will not allow the other members, and yet more, the whole body, to make use of him as a member, I do not see how he can prove himself a member of that body ; and if that body be the body of Christ, how he can show himself to be a member of Christ. And there is another thing ; that no one who acts rightly wishes to live for himself alone ; but exactly as he desires and believes that if he is a member of God all the advantages of other members will be his in a future life, so ought he to will that if there be aught of good in him it should belong to others in this present life. Therefore, so far as I may, I advise, and pray you, son, brother, and dearest friend, that if the whole, or the greater part, of your community, with the approval of the

reverend bishops of Carnotes and Paris who were your nursing fathers, should pressingly elect you to what I named above, by no means to shun it or stand out against persuasion. I even consider it better for you lovingly to preserve in your mind the peace of contemplation while actively fulfilling the work of brotherly charity, than if despising others' prayers and their need you were to choose contemplation alone. Farewell.

81. TO MATILDA, QUEEN OF THE ENGLISH.

To Matilda, illustrious Queen of the English, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, sends the blessing of God and his faithful service and prayers.

I speak briefly, but from the heart, as to a person for whom I greatly desire that she should advance from an earthly kingdom to a heavenly. When I hear anything about you which does not please God nor become you, if I neglect to warn you, I neither fear God, nor do I love you as I ought. After I left England I heard that you are managing the churches which are in your hands otherwise than is good for them and for your own soul—I am unwilling to say here how you are acting, according as it is reported to me, because to none is it better known than to yourself. Therefore I beg you as my mistress, advise you as my queen, warn you as my daughter (as indeed I have done before now), to cause the churches of God which are in your power to know you as a mother, a nurse, a kind mistress and queen. And I say this not only as to them, but as to all churches in England to which you extend your help. For He who saith "he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong that he hath done," excepts no one. Again I beg and advise and warn you, my beloved mistress and daughter, to turn this over diligently in

your mind, and if your conscience bears you witness that you have herein anything to correct, to hasten to correct it, so that in the future you offend not God, so far as by His grace this is possible to you, and make Him merciful to you for the past if you see you have offended. For it is not, of a certainty, sufficient for any one to desist from evil, unless he takes care to make all possible satisfaction for what has been committed. May Almighty God so ever guide you as that He may repay you with eternal life.

82. TO COUNT HUGO.

Anselm the archbishop to his lord and beloved friend, Count Hugo, greeting, and God's blessing, and his own.

The bearer of this, a Cluniac monk, complains that you have taken and are keeping prisoner a certain monk of Cluny, and that another, lately made a monk and now dead, has been carried off by your men and buried where it pleased them. If these things are so, I am very much grieved on your account, because they have not been done at all as becomes you. Wherefore I desire, pray, and advise you, as a friend, to restore without delay the monk whom you have prisoner; and since you captured him, offer to make reparation for that. Your own honour alone requires you to do this. But afterwards, if you have any claim upon this monk, make complaint thereof, and you shall be compensated according as justice requires. As to the dead man also I advise you to offer to make amends as shall be most fair and just. But I tell you also plainly, as a man whose honour and worth are dear to me, that if you do not what I say, you will be much blamed; and I also, did I fail in doing what ecclesiastical discipline enjoins

to be done in such a case, should be reproached by many. I greet your wife, my beloved daughter.

83. TO COUNT HACO.

Anselm, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, to Haco, Count of the Orkneys, greeting, and the blessing of God.

I hear that for want of teachers the people under your rule do not know and practise the Christian religion as they ought. But I am very glad to learn by the report of the bishop whom you now have by God's grace, that your prudence readily receives the Word of God, and any salutary advice. Relying on this, I send your earnestness my letter of admonition to you to follow carefully the preaching and teaching of the said bishop; and to seek, so far as in you lies, that your people may do the same. For you can do nothing by which you might better attain the remission of your sins and the glory of eternal life, than by admonishing your people to fulfil the religion of Christ, and attracting them to it in every way you can. Which you might fulfil, God helping you, if, as I have told you just now, you submit yourself in devout and holy humility and with genuine good-will to your bishop. If by the inspiration of God you will yield to my advice and exhortation, I pray God Almighty Himself to direct and guard both you and all your people by His grace, and from my heart I send you the benediction and absolution of God, and my own humble prayers. Almighty God so make you to live in this world as that in the next world you may be united to the blessed company of angels. Amen.

84. TO HENRY, KING OF THE ENGLISH.

To his dearest lord, Henry, by the grace of God king of the English, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, offers his faithful service and faithful prayers.

I hear that you command William, Bishop-Elect of Winchester, to go out of the diocese and out of England, because he did not receive the consecration which the Archbishop of York and the other bishops wanted to confer upon him. Wherefore I entreat and advise you, and that as a faithful archbishop addressing his lord and king, not to believe in the advice of those who counsel you thus, for to my mind I cannot see that this is to your honour. For it is well enough known that to me belongs his consecration, nor ought any other to do it except with my authority; and this I am prepared, should need arise, to prove by argument, as such a matter ought to be proved. If therefore you expel him from your kingdom so that I cannot perform that consecration canonically, it appears to me that you are depriving me of my office without any legal reason why you should do so. Therefore I pray you to allow him to remain in peace in his diocese, at least until the end of my journey of inspection, that in the meantime I may be permitted to give him the consecration which I ought.

85. TO RICHARD, A MONK.

Anselm, by the grace of God archbishop, to his dearest brother and son, Richard, monk of Bec, greeting, and the blessing of God.

When you know how much I love you, you ought not entirely to despise my advice and injunctions, and by thus despising them vex me and the abbot to whose care I commended you. Now I have so often warned,

advised, and enjoined you to moderate your indiscreet abstinences and bodily austerities according to the command of the aforesaid abbot; you have so often promised to obey my will and his in this matter, and yet you still obstinately stick to your own way. I am afraid that while you want to have a reward, or rather obtain reputation or foolish self-glorification for your self-denial, you may instead be incurring punishment for disobedience. Assuredly since simple obedience deserves a greater reward than unusual abstinence from food, so he is more severely punished by whom the former is despised than by whom the latter is neglected. For obedience can save a man without this kind of abstinence; but without obedience such abstinence can avail only to condemnation. Yield therefore, yield, and put yourself entirely at your ruler's disposal, if you wish to obey me, if you wish to please me, if you wish to retain my love for you, if you wish to prove yours for me, and therefore do not wish to vex me and the abbot you are under, and to annoy the brethren among whom you live, by your indiscretion. For it is plain enough that your bodily frame and your natural temperament cannot bear what your rashness presumes to do. May the Almighty Lord lead you in His way and in His truth. Amen.

86. TO WILLERMUS.

Anselm the archbishop to his beloved son Willermus, greeting, and the blessing of God, and his own.

I well know that you love me with a great and deep affection, and therefore I cannot help returning your love. You love me as a Father in God to whom you committed your whole self without reserve, and I who received you with sincere affection, love you as a son. From God you learnt to love me, and God gave to me

to love you. Therefore since our mutual affection comes from God, it cannot be destroyed, nor ought it to be, unless some offence against God should cause this. Therefore as you wish to retain my affection, strive with all your might to avoid offending God. I like you to love me, but I like better that you should love yourself. Love yourself, and as to affection, you possess me. By keeping my admonition in mind, you will always keep in mind the love of God, and in that, my love; I cannot always be present with you. May God, who is present everywhere, guard you. I would admonish you to be always in His presence.

87. TO HERBERT, BISHOP OF THIOFORD.

Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury, to Herbert, Bishop of Thioford, greeting.

As to the priests about whom your prudence asks for advice, I am sure that nothing is to be relaxed of what was settled in the council. But since they prefer to resign whatever appertains to the priest's office, rather than their wives: if any who can be found are leading regular lives, let them act for the others; but if none or few such are to be found, give orders that in the meantime monks shall say mass for the people wherever they may be, and consecrate the Body of the Lord, which shall be taken by the clergy to the sick. The same clergy shall by your command receive confessions in place of the others, and bury the bodies of the dead. All this you may enjoin even upon monks of advanced age, until this obstinacy of the priests shall, by God's visitation, yield; it will not last long if God be favourable to us, providing we persist in what has been begun. As to baptism, you know that whoever baptises, it is Christ who baptises. Enjoin earnestly all lay people, great and small, on behalf of

God and of all us who settled this in the council, that if they call themselves Christians, they should help you to expel from the churches and from their possessions priests who are disobedient to the council, and to put worthy ones in their stead. And if those expelled break out either against those who are willing to serve the Church chastely, or in any other manner of rashness and pride, let all Christians be against them and exclude them not only from their own society, but also from the lands they hold, together with their female belongings, until they come to a better mind.

88. TO HIS NEPHEW.

Anselm the archbishop to his dear nephew Anselm, greeting, and blessing.

The anxiety and sadness you feel about your dear mother, I also endure. I had therefore begged the lord abbot of Cluny to receive her into the convent of the Lord's handmaidens at Marcinneus; which he for love of me freely granted; and the handmaidens of the Lord were willing also. So I have by letter and by my messenger begged the Cluniac abbot and his nuns, as humbly and earnestly as I could, to give my sister up to me for this. But they would by no means consent; rather were much excited against me and thought I had done them dishonour. But I shall not yet give up trying to carry through by some means what I have begun. But if I cannot, we must not, you and I, be overcome with inconsolable sadness, but patiently commit ourselves and her to the providence of God. For I hope in God that He will not suffer her to be tempted by any inconveniences beyond what she is able to bear, but that He will so lead her through the many trials which she has since her infancy borne, and will bear to the end, as that He may cause her to enter

into His rest. But I, so far as I am able, shall never cease to help her in every way so long as I live. Now, as to yourself; I desire and enjoin you on no account to be idle, but to resolve daily to improve in that for which I left you in England. Try to understand the value of correct grammar; accustom yourself to compose daily, chiefly in prose; and do not be too fond of writing in a difficult style, but rather write plainly and clearly. Always, except when necessity compels, speak in Latin. Above all aim at a steady life and sober ways. Avoid much talking; for a man gains more by being silent and hearing what others say, and by reflecting on how he may profit by that and by their example, than by volubly displaying his own knowledge without being thereto obliged by any necessity. Greet your teacher kindly from me; to him I should really like to be of use (did God give me the opportunity), both for your sake and for that of the other brothers he is teaching and on account of his own sterling character. But in the meantime I have laid this before the lord prior and begged him earnestly to treat him so kindly as that he will not be sorry to have attached himself to you. Farewell.

89. TO BERNARD AND HIS MONKS.

Anselm, by the grace of God archbishop, to the Lord Prior Bernard and the other brethren living in the monastery of St Alban, greeting and blessing.

The brethren sent to me by your affection reported that some doubt had arisen among you, and some discussion, because in the writings of the Catholic Fathers you sometimes find it said that in Christ God and man are united in one substance, and again sometimes, that two substances, the divine and the human, are one person in Christ. It may seem a contradiction that in

one substance should be human nature and divine, so as to be one person, and two substances in the same person ; but if it be rightly understood how they say one substance is in Christ more than one nature, or more than one substance one person, it will be seen that there is nothing contradictory there. For we believe in one God, and confess Him to be Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Now when we say one God, we only say one and so we understand. But when we say Father and Son and Holy Ghost, we say and believe more ; but we have the command of God that we ought to say God in the singular and not as more than one, as it is written : " Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." But of those three, that is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we find not in prophet, or apostle, or evangelist, that under one name they name them in the plural, whereby they would signify that plurality which we understand in them ; they never say they are three persons, or three substances, or three almighties, or anything of this kind. From this want the Catholic Fathers when they spoke of those three, chose out all by which those three could be named plurally. The Greeks chose the name "substance," the Latins the name "person;" but wholly so as that what we understand by "person," that and no other do they understand by "substance." Therefore as we say that in God there are three persons in one substance, so they say that there are three substances in one person, neither understanding nor believing anything different from what we do. Therefore since they have not names by which they could properly signify those three, as I said before, when the Greeks said there were three substances, but we said three persons, both gave to the two names as in reference to God that meaning which was most generally understood among them by that word, and which they could not

really express by any word. Thus therefore as we say that there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost, and that in that wherein the Son of God is other than the Father, He is not other than the Virgin's Son, but is one and the same ; He is a Person other than the Father, and not other than the Son of the Virgin, but the same Person : so the Greeks say that the Word, which is the Son of God, is another substance than the Father, and not another than took man's nature. When therefore we find in the writings of Catholic Fathers that there are in Christ more natures than one, but one substance ; and when again we find that there are more than one substance, but one person ; we do not take the word "substance" in the same sense ; but when we say "one substance," we understand the same as by the word "person." But when we say there are in Him more than one substance, but one person, we mean by the word "substance" the same as what we meant by the word "nature." On this account therefore, since the faith of Greeks and Latins is one and the same, they sometimes say "person," although the Latins rarely do this. But that the Greeks predicate in God one Person, three substances, is declared by St Augustine in his book "On the Trinity." I think I have sufficiently answered what you asked, my brethren, so far as I understand the question to be discussed among you, although much might have been said about Trinity and plurality,—how the Word is One with the Father and yet not One alone, and One alone with the human nature He took, and yet not One.







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